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AKDENİZ HAVZASI VE AFRİKA MEDENİYETLERİ DERGİSİ (AKAF)

Cilt 2 / Sayı 2 / 2020 GÜZ

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Global Television Network*

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*The Role Of The Civil Society In Conflicts: The Anglo-Phone Crisis In
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Ahdi`S Gülşen-İ Şuarâ An Unusual Example Of Biographical Dictionary of Poets

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TAKDİM / EDİTÖRDEN

Değerli okurlarımız,

Hepimizin şahit olduğu gibi, 2020 yılı ne yazık ki ülkemiz ile Akdeniz Havzası ve Afrika ülkeleri açısından gerek sağlık gerekse sosyoekonomik alanlar açısından son yüzyılın en zorlu dönemlerinden birini yaşamasına rağmen, bilimsel ve kültürel alanlarda Türkiye ve söz konusu bölge ülkelerinde bilim insanları hız kesmeden verimli ve özgün çalışmalarına devam etmiştir.

Gerek Türk gerekse Afrika ülkelerinin genç araştırmacılarının bilimsel ve kültürel çalışmalarının bir neticesi olarak dergimizin 2020 yılının son sayısında çoğunluğu Afrika çalışmaları üzerine odaklanmış on dört araştırma makalesini sizlerle paylaşmanın mutluluğunu yaşıyoruz.

Dergimizin bu sayısına katkı veren değerli yazarlarımıza, yayın ve danışma kurulu üyelerimize içtenlikle teşekkür ederiz. Bir sonraki sayımızda buluşmak dileğiyle...

Editör

Prof. Dr. Suna TİMUR AĞILDERE

Ankara - 31 Aralık 2020

EDITORIAL

Dear Readers,

As we have all witnessed, even though 2020 has been one of the most challenging periods of the last century in terms of both health and socioeconomic areas for our country, the Mediterranean Basin and African countries, scientists and scholars have continued their productive and original research without slowing down in Turkey and aforementioned countries. As a result of the scientific and cultural studies of both Turkish and African young researchers, we are happy to share with you fourteen research articles mostly focused on African studies in the last issue of our journal in 2020. We sincerely thank our valuable authors, editorial and advisory board members who contributed to this issue of our journal. Hope to meet you in our next issue ...

Founding Editor

Prof. Dr. Suna TİMUR AĞILDERE

Ankara - December 31, 2020

THE IMAGE OF ETHIOPIA IN THE CHINESE MEDIA: A CASE STUDY OF CHINA GLOBAL TELEVISION NETWORK

RESEARCH ARTICLE

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ABSTRACT: The relationship between Ethiopia and China dates back in 1970s. The two countries, under the Sino-Africa relationship have mutually benefitted. Despite the long dated friendship, it is surprising how a number of Chinese have little or no idea about Ethiopia or its citizens whilst the situation is different with Ethiopians. Therefore, this study checked how China portrayed Ethiopia in media reporting and the image formed about Ethiopia and Ethiopians. Again, China, like the African Continent has suffered bad image representation by the Western media, thus, it is committed to the implementation of the New World Information Communication Order (NWICO), which would give voice to the voiceless by changing how Africa has been represented. Thus, the research compared the International Chinese media, particularly, China Global Television Network on how it portrayed Ethiopia's public image not only in China but the world as a whole. The research was guided by three research questions which included how is the image of Ethiopia portrayed by Chinese media? What are the major themes that are presented in Chinese media? And what kind of frames the media used to narrate stories about Ethiopia? Anchored to media framing theory and using content analysis the researcher reviewed stories that were broadcasted about Ethiopia for the period of two years that is 2015 and 2016 on Chinese mainstream media, China Global Television Network. It employs both qualitative and quantitative method. The study showed that the image of Ethiopia in Chinese media is a favorable. Most of the news items were positive which focuses on strengthen a cordial relationship between the two countries. The study also found out that the economic theme is the most dominant theme where Ethiopia is viewed as an economic power and an important player in African economic growth and international business. That means development, business, trade and other economic related stories has a lot of space in CGTN. Political theme takes the second slot on China Global Television Network portrayal of Ethiopia.

Keywords: media image, framing theory, CGTN, Ethiopia, China

L'image de L'Éthiopie Dans Les Médias Chinois: Une Étude De Cas Du Réseau Mondial de Télévision Chinois

RESUME: La relation entre l'Éthiopie et la Chine remonte aux années 1970 et les deux pays, dans le cadre de la relation sino-africaine, ont mutuellement bénéficié. Malgré cette amitié de longue date, il est surprenant de voir qu'un certain nombre de Chinois ont peu ou pas d'idée sur l'Éthiopie ou ses citoyens alors que la situation est différente avec les Éthiopiens. Par conséquent, cette étude a vérifié comment la Chine représentait l'Éthiopie dans les reportages des médias et l'image formée sur l'Éthiopie et les Éthiopiens. Encore une fois, la Chine, tout comme le continent africain, a souffert d'une mauvaise image de la part des médias occidentaux, c'est pourquoi elle s'est engagée à mettre en œuvre le Nouvel Ordre mondial de communication de l'information (NWICO), qui donnerait la parole aux sans voix en changeant la façon dont l'Afrique a été représentée. Ainsi, la recherche a comparé les médias internationaux chinois, en particulier le China Global Television Network, à la façon dont il dépeignait l'image publique de l'Éthiopie non seulement en Chine mais dans le monde dans son ensemble. La recherche a été guidée par trois questions de recherche qui comprenaient comment l'image de l'Éthiopie est-elle représentée par les médias chinois? Quels sont les thèmes majeurs présentés dans les médias chinois? Et quel genre de cadres les médias ont-ils utilisés pour raconter des histoires sur l'Éthiopie? Ancré dans la théorie du cadrage médiatique et utilisant l'analyse de contenu, le chercheur a passé en revue les histoires diffusées sur l'Éthiopie pendant la période de deux ans, soit 2015 et 2016, sur les grands médias chinois, China Global Television Network. Il utilise une méthode à la fois qualitative et quantitative. L'étude a montré que l'image de l'Éthiopie dans les médias chinois est favorable. La plupart des informations ont été positives et visent à renforcer une relation cordiale entre les deux pays. L'étude a également révélé que le thème économique est le thème le plus dominant où l'Éthiopie est considérée comme une puissance économique et un acteur important de la croissance économique africaine et des affaires internationales. Cela signifie que le développement, les affaires, le commerce et d'autres histoires liées à l'économie ont beaucoup d'espace dans CGTN. Le thème politique occupe la deuxième place dans la représentation de l'Éthiopie par le China Global Television Network.

Mots clés: image médiatique, théorie du cadrage, CGTN, Éthiopie, Chine

Introduction

According to Shinn (2014, 2015), Ethiopia and China started official relationship when they opened embassies in their respective capitals beginning from 1972. This relationship has reached a greater level over the past four decades.

Currently, the bilateral relations are multifaceted and keeping the economic growth of both countries promising. On the other hand, many Chinese companies are engaged in several development projects in Ethiopia. Road, railways, and telecommunications are among the major projects that the Chinese companies are involved in.

Chinese engagement and projects in Ethiopia became transformative after the beginning of the 21st Century. In 2000, China-Ethiopia trade was only \$88m. But it reached a cumulative \$1bn by 2014. In recent years, annual investment flows from China have surpassed any other country.

Western aid is far more important for Ethiopia than the assistance it gets from China (Abdella, 2008). But even in the case of aid, China has emerged as an important donor, primarily because of its concessional loans for infrastructure projects. Ethiopia was the first African country to receive a contingent of young Chinese volunteers, similar to the American Peace Corps. It has also stepped up its soft power with the establishment of a Confucius Institute at the Ethiopia-China Polytechnic College and increased the number of scholarships in China for Ethiopian students.

Trade and investment relations mirror the political ones. At the political level, China and Ethiopia have been supportive of each other (Muluaem, 2014).

Thus as China continues to influence the world economy and Ethiopia development, it is important to assess how the relationship between the two countries is perceived and how the image of Ethiopia is represented in china media.

The launch of the former CCTV Africa (now CGTN Africa) in 2012 is an initiative that aims at bridging the wide speculations about Ethiopia and other Africans in the minds of many Chinese as well as Ethiopians (Wan, 2015). According to Wan The approach has provided an alternative voice to Africa and is invariably helping to change the way the African story is narrated in the global media especially those of the West and the European world. CCTV Africa can be said to be a Pan-African initiative determined to change the image of Africa to the dislike of many Western media. The Ethiopians also wonders if Chinese media cover the ties between the two countries or are the people attracted to the things of Ethiopia-China relations in the media content. A research done by Wainaina (2008) indicated that not a single week, at least passes without China being in the light of n media outlets in Africa. The same is true in Ethiopia Thus, it is expected that the media in China also cover at least things concerning Ethiopia and China to keep the relationship alive and more importantly to inform the upcoming ones, so as to promote the relationship into the future.

This is the reason this study is dwelling on Ethiopia's representation in the Chinese media using a content analysis. The researcher has tried to access whether or not Chinese media report on issues of Ethiopia and mutual cooperation between Ethiopia and China. The study seeks to know if there are news stories in Chinese media, and how they are reported; whether in the negative or positive way, which frames are used, which topics are covered and which ones are dominant.

Statement of the Problem

Ethiopia, which is located in Eastern part of Africa, is Africa's oldest independent country and its second largest in terms of population. It has a unique cultural heritage, it is the land of human origin and the birth place of coffee. It served as a symbol of African independence throughout the colonial period, and was a founder member of the United Nations and base for many international organizations. Even though the country has a lot of amazing treasures and one of the fastest economy in Africa, it's image in the West has been largely formed by the Western media, which has painted Ethiopia as a poor country. Ojo, T. (2000). indicated most of the time the western media has broadcasted about drought, famine and conflict related stereotype kind of reporting. It is also perceived that the Chinese media is doing the same. Therefore, the Study wants to know whether the Chinese media give coverage to Ethiopia or not, If the media give coverage about Ethiopia the study would try to analyse which frames are dominant and how is Ethiopia portrayed. Knowing how heated and controversial the debate on news flow from

developing countries to the West has been, this study aims to investigate if there was negative portrayal of Ethiopia in Chinese media hence Africa in the Western media is portrayed in the negative way. In addition to this, very little research has been conducted on Ethiopia and China bilateral relationship. The available study between China and Ethiopia has mainly concentrated on the economic relations and the role of China on development of Ethiopia (Fantahun, 2013). No study has been conducted on the media relations and media image of Ethiopia on China Media. This study seeks to fill a research gap and provides unprecedented insights on the media image of Ethiopia in the media of China.

Study Period

The study covers two years' period 2015 to 2016, this is done in order that enough data would be collected which will be representational. And especially, 2015 and 2016, which was full of activities for the two countries. In two years, since the friendship between the two countries is deepening, more stories were reported on Ethiopia by CGTN.

The other reason is during this period Ethiopia was stricken by drought and ethnic protests. This caught the attention of lots of international medias. Therefore, the researcher tries to examine how CGTN was covering these stories.

Apart from that the time frame of the research and the availability of the news items and other story sources were considered.

Chinese Media Presence in Africa

China has also made integral contributions to media infrastructure in Africa, and developed exchange and education programs for Chinese language and culture (Wan, 2015). Media expansion is inextricably linked with China's growing international participation in global institutions and processes, offering an alternative to, and coming into tension with, traditional Western media, aid, development, and cultural hegemony.

One of the biggest and most influential China's state news agency, Xinhua, set up its African bureau in Cairo, Egypt in 1985, and now has 28 branches covering 47 countries. And in January 2012, China Central Television launched the former CCTV Africa (now CGTN Africa) in Kenya. CGTN Africa focuses on African news and perspectives as well as international news.

CGTN Africa intends to strengthen news coverage in Africa. In so doing, it wishes to promote communication and cooperation between China and African countries on politics, economy, trade and culture.

The station is responsible for news gathering and task assignments on the African continent and produce one-hour program every day, broadcast through CGTN's English news channel. It also provides a platform for its Chinese audience to better understand Africa and promote the China-Africa friendship so that the real China can be introduced to Africa, and the real Africa can be presented to the world (Wan, 2015).

CCGTN expanded to Africa with the goal of "to report Africa from an African perspective" and "as a friend of Africa to portray the true picture of Africa to the world" more positively, holistically, and respectfully, without losing sight of the continent's success. Is that the whole truth? Well that's debatable. Bin-yavangaWainaina's skit on 'How to write about Africa?', published in 2005, said that Western headlines about Africa do skew towards failure and hopelessness.

CCTV ex-editor Wang emphasizes China is using its media in Africa to implement its soft power, therefore the media and the culture policies are their ideological components.

This study therefore is to enquire into CGTN's coverage of Ethiopia and how it represents Ethiopia.

Literature Review

Understanding Framing Theory

The researcher intends to use framing theory to analyze how CGTN portray Ethiopia's image. Frames are an inherent part of the news process. Tucker wrote that frames are "highly ritualized symbolic structures embedded into media content" (p. 143). These frames, as part of the media structure and content,

control the flow of information to the audience. Tuchman (1978) equates the framing process to “looking through a window” as he stated:

“The view through a window depends upon whether the window is large or small, has many panes or few, whether the glass is opaque or clear, whether the window faces a street or backyard. The unfolding scene also depends upon where one stands, far or near, craning one’s neck to the side or gazing straight ahead, eyes parallel to the wall in which the window is encased”

The window metaphor provides a clear example of how the news frame can include, exclude and skew specific pieces of information depending on what information is placed within view or outside of the metaphorical window. Framing also allows the author to insert opinion and interpretation. Historically, news media has gathered and disseminated news for public consumption. Tuchman wrote that “the news aims to tell us what we want to know, need to know, and should know”.

As stated by Entman (2004, p. 5) framing is “selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation. This is often done to highlight the interests of elites in which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret and evaluate information. Framing is shortcut and allows humans, who prefer thinking less to process information in a quick and easy way, thus, they rely on schemata, whereby anecdotes and stereotypes are used. The study uses same approach of analyzing words, phrases and the presentational styles of CGTN in representation of Ethiopia.

How Framing Effects Work

Framing has impact when contents are regular or recently available and accessible, meaning its activation potential must exceed a certain threshold so that the consideration is retrieved from long-term memory. Considerations become accessible through a passive or unconscious process. Individuals sometimes base their opinions on available and accessible considerations without conscious deliberation Higgins (1996). Other times, an individual will consciously evaluate the applicability of accessible considerations (that is, accessibility will not be a sufficient condition for influence). Thus, this research finds out how often Ethiopia-China relations, especially, are entertained in the Chinese media. The perceived applicability of a given communication frame, and thus the likelihood it will affect an individual’s opinion, increases with perceptions of its strength or relevance Eagly&Chaiken (1993, p. 330). The important point here is that framing effects depend on a mix of factors including the strength and repetition of the frame, the competitive environment, and individual motivations. Additionally, under certain conditions, the aggregate impact of a mix of frames may differ from the sum of their individual effects.

The study finds out how the Chinese media, especially, the English section of the state owned television station, CGTN used framing to represent Ethiopia in its contents, how often it was represented, was it positive, negative or neutral.

Framing process

Dahinden (2002) identified the four levels of framing as: media content, production, audience frames, and general culture.

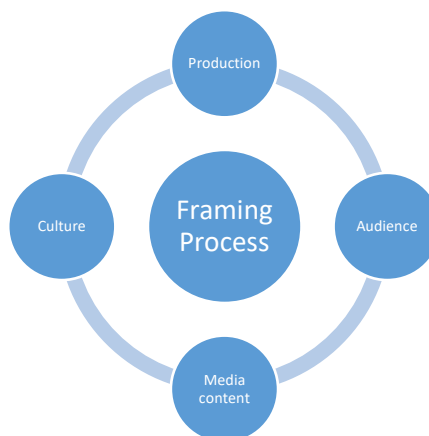


Figure 1: Framing process

- Media content refers to story selection and patterns of reporting.
- Production refers to how content is presented, including journalistic norms.
- Audience frames take into account the existing mental models and schemas activated by media.
- Culture refers to the existing narratives and myths found in modern society.

Through the research we talk mainly about the media production and its content and leave audience frames and cultural biases, despite the fact that cultural bias and audience frames also influence media production.

Media content is presented with extreme care and intention so a lot of visual cues can be inferred from a presented story. All aspects of a story, from length, size of the headline, position on the news package, inclusion of a sound and picture, all convey the level of importance of the news item to the viewer. Visual presentation of news stories, headlines, pictures, sound bites and attributes contribute to the overall salience.

Identifying Frames

For the benefit of this study we use the line of research by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) that identified five news frames: conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility, morality and economic consequences frames. According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000, p. 93), the conflict frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions. This frame occurs in news items that highlight tension, disagreement or clashes between individuals, parties, groups, countries and regions. This frame is frequently used in the media's coverage of political news and natural and manmade disasters (Patterson, 1993).

The economic consequences frame is mainly noted in stories that highlight the potential or actual financial or economic consequences of an event or issue. Such consequences may affect an individual, group, institution, country or region (Semetko&Valkenburg, 2000).

Neuman et al. (1992) describe the human interest frame as the "human impact" frame. This frame occurs in stories that provide human examples or give an emotional angle to an issue. In such stories, the writer may descriptively word the story in such a way as to spark viewers' emotions and retain audience interest.

According to Semetko and Valkenburg, the morality frame puts an event or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. They note that the professional norm of objectivity leads journalists to make reference to moral frames indirectly, for instance through quotation or inference.

The attribution of responsibility frame presents an issue or problem in such a way as to put responsibility for causing or solving a problem to an individual, group, or institution (Semetko&Valkenburg, 2000).

This study accepts that these frames exist and are used by CGTN while broadcasting stories on Africa, particularly Ethiopia.

Image Representation

In journalistic terminology, image of a country can be defined in the terms of political, economic, military, cultural and religious relations in the changing domestic, regional and international scenario and its effects on the thoughts, behaviours, feelings, and inclinations of the owners of the media organization(Walter,1994).

According to Kunczik (2016), in today's era of globalization, a nation's image is one of the most crucial concepts. The image of a country, whether it is positive or negative, can directly affect a country's politic, economic and cultural influences on the international stage as it helps the country to build and maintain relationships with other countries.

Country images arising from someone's cognitive system only exist when they are communicated and mass media seems to play biggest role in constructing, communicating and shaping them.

According to Michael Kunczik, "Images of certain nations, however right or wrong they might be, seem to form, fundamentally, through a very complex communication process involving varied information sources. The process starts with one's experiences in very early life, in school, in children's books, fairytales and other leisure literature and may include accounts by relatives, acquaintances, and friends.

But radio and TV transmissions of international programs, newspapers and magazines, cultural exchange programs, sports, books, news services, and so on are probably the strongest image shapers.” (p. 1). A country's image is the result of not only its representation given in media discourses of other countries but also the way it presents itself to the world, therefore, foreign policy and public diplomacy plays an important role.

Media scholar Gaye Tuchman (1978) observed that reporting is “the act of making news is the act of constructing reality itself rather than a picture of reality” (p.12). News media shape and define the events they are reporting on; therefore, journalists also shape the image of a country communicated through news media.

Wang (2006) suggested that national image refers to a representation of a country's positive or negative standing in media, in terms of historical, political, economic, military, diplomatic and religious context (Hanan, as cited in Saleem, 2007). The examination of portrayed media images of a given country needs to be cognizant of multi-dimensionality. This is why this research exists to see the way Ethiopia's image is depicted in the Chinese media namely, China Global Television Network.

China Representation in Ethiopia Media

As far back as in the 1990s, Ethiopian's national and only television station: Ethiopia Broadcasting Corporation (the then Ethiopian Radio and Television Agency), did not only show the local contents to its audience but also international contents, among them were Chinese programmes such as movies, documentaries, traditional sport Kung Fu, music and even news about China(Gezahgn,2017). Ethiopians learnt about China's culture through the traditional dress, meal, dance, music and Kung Fu fighting as well as making it difficult for one to identify them because they looked very much alike. But when both countries have a type of relationship with their governments, have media and practitioners, have their citizens in each of the countries, inter-marriages, trade relations and other activities, yet most Chinese I have met seem to know little or nothing about Ethiopia(Gezahgn,2017).

The Study wants to know whether the Chinese media give coverage to Ethiopia or not at all and especially about their relationships such as state visits by their leaders, benefits from each other, aids from China and other important issues are captured by the Chinese media. Again, it will check how the news contents and other information about its counterpart are framed and how catchy enough to the audience that would encourage them to watch and as result, learn about Ethiopia.

Above all, the African Continent has always been given negative, untrue and unbalanced stories by especially the Western Media and it is perceived the Chinese media is the same.

China, on the other hand, has pledged to ensure an end and put to that practice, thereby ensuring that the New World Information Communication Order (NWICO) is realized to enable everyone, particularly, Africans also tell their own stories as they are. The study became necessary to ascertain more importantly, how the English (International) Chinese media perceive Africa and for that matter, Ethiopia in Chinese media and how such stories are framed.

Research Methods and Design

Research Design

There are two approaches to gather research information for analysis that is, the Positivist, which collects numbers for its data analysis and the Naturalist that uses words to describe or analyze a particular group or situation carefully observe for a span of time (Erickson, 1986). Since the Positivist often measures how many, how often, to what percentage or proportion, it is said to be using a quantitative way of assembling its data whereas the Naturalistic goes by its work by using the qualitative, really appreciate meanings, because, not all data can be represented in figures, for example, people's culture, experiences, relationships, cannot be easily calculated, unless sometimes they are specially coded. That is why this study chose both the qualitative and quantitative to establish how Ethiopia is viewed in this selected media namely, China Global Television Network, to know the frequency at which Ethiopia is reported in this media outlet, how the news items are framed, which type of stories they are and their tones.

Sampling Technique

Under this study, the population was gathered from online news items generated by CGTN. It spans through a period of two years that is from 2015 to 2016, to enable it compile enough data for the work. Therefore, the period will allow for the collection of enough data that is representational.

Thousands of stories were discovered about Africa in the content of CGTN English Channel. Two hundred four (204) stories focused on Ethiopia found, were considered to be part of the population from the archives of CGTN official website over the time under study. However, 99 of the news items produced by CGTN were selected to represent the rest after data cleaning. This is also because the other stories are not broadcasted more than one time on CGTN news hour and some of them were covered with the same news angle but in different dates (some stories broadcasted in 2015 were repeated in 2016).

According to Jeremy G. Butler (8 September 2006) in journalism, sound bites are used to summarize the position of the speaker, as well as to increase the interest of viewers in the piece (p.233). In television news stories sound bites are very essential to produce newsworthy news. A balanced news report is expected to contain sound bites representing both sides of the debate. Therefore, the study does not include stories which does not have sound bites. In addition to these, the study uses five themes of stories (namely political, social, religion, cultural and economic) to analyze image of Ethiopia in Chinese media. Hence sport is not categorized under these themes, the researcher does not embrace sport news stories in the study. Thus, only 99 news stories are taken from the total 204 stories gathered for the study between 2015 and 2016. That means part of the group was taken to speak for the rest, this is called sampling. Sampling can be Quantitative or Qualitative or they can also be referred to as Probability or Non-Probability, respectively.

The study uses non-Probability Sampling. All the stories were chosen from CGTN, which is the biggest TV station and it has the widest coverage with news items internationally.

The research adopts the non-probability sampling method unlike the Probability method that uses simple sampling, where every item has an equal chance of being selected. The researcher had to rely on the available ones found in CGTN, the most reliable and which also feeds the rest with news from time to time. The selected stories contained vital information relevant to the work which could not be achieved using probability sampling method. Purposive or Critical sampling, under Non-Probability was used as it helped to select items which were key or essential for the overall acceptance or assessment Amankwa (2009). Purposive sampling was applied by picking only stories made by CGTN over the other Chinese English media outlets because it is the widest, in terms of coverage, has a large number of audience globally, more credible than other news channels and since other media outsource its contents.

Data Analysis

Content Analysis

According to Deidre (2013) citing Wanta et al. (2004) indicated that using content analysis as the research tool for the study, the researchers were able to test whether the media attention of foreign nations in the news influenced, how important the nations are viewed as individuals and whether positive or negative coverage of those nations influenced individuals' assessments of the countries. Content analysis has been used to study various issues focused on how the media can influence perceptions of objects or individuals. Therefore, for this study used content analysis to examine the news frame used in CGTN's reporting about Ethiopia.

Codes

Generic frames

Codes were used to clearly demarcate the perimeters for defining the image of Ethiopia and also help in answering the three research questions leading this study. Codes were drawn from the generic frames developed by Semetko and Velkenburg (2000) as cited by Vreese (2005) who identified five generic news frames which are: Conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility, morality and economic consequences.

Conflict frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, institutions or countries.

Human interest brings the human or personal angle to the story.

Attribution of responsibility frame presents an issue or a problem passing the blame or role to solve it to the individual or organization.

Morality frame present an issue or problem in the context of morals.

Economic consequences frame presents an issue or problem in lens of an economic outcome to the individual or organization or country (Vreese, 2005).

Positive, Negative and Neutral Tones /Slants

Fabos (2006) defines news as any information that is new, not ordinary or unusual, interesting or significant and about people, that is, something closer to those people and has personal impacts. In other words, it must be stories that they can identify with. Campbell (2006) et al believes that every news report should have structure and conflict, problem and denouement, rising and falling action, a beginning, middle and an end. A news item can be positive, negative or even neutral.

-A positivetone refers to an overall tone or prevailing elements in the story that suggest political, social and economic stability or strength and progress and improvement which tend to contribute to a favorable image of Ethiopia.

-A negative tone refers to the overall tone or prevailing elements in the story that suggest political, social, and economic instability or weakness, conflict and human rights, religious and other problems which tend to contribute to an unfavorable image of Ethiopia.

-A neutral tone refers to the overall tone or prevailing elements in the story being either a balance of negative or positive or mixed (Xiufang, 2012).

Predominant Themes / Categories of News Topics

□ **Religion:** it is the news content that contains a lot of attention from the mainstream media whereby the media make accusation about extremism or in tolerance as defined by PEW Research Centre.

□ **Social:** this can also be known as episodic frame, when news is reported in the form specific events. Citizens reading this are less likely to consider society responsible for the events and more likely to believe society is responsible. Social framework views events as socially oriented or socially driven occurrences due to the whims, goals and manipulations of social players that is people–Fairhurst and Sarr (1996). People viewing stories about poverty (homeless, unemployed people) are more likely to blame poverty on individuals' failure because of laziness/low level of education.

□ **Cultural:** this type of frame, talks about the identities of people, their beliefs, arts, customs, and so on, according to Hollenbach (2008).

□ **Economic:** Erving (1974) view economic framing as stories about businesses or industries, investments, employment, financial crisis, housing crisis, stock market, commercial networks, insurance, budget and others.

□ **Political:** this can also be termed as thematic whereby news is presented in general or in a collective context, making citizens less likely to hold individuals accountable and more likely to hold individuals accountable and more likely to believe society is responsible.

Findings and Data Analysis

CGTN's Tones Used in The representation of Ethiopia

China, one of the advocates of the New World Information Communication Order (NWICO) is supporting Africa, the most affected by the stereotype reporting of the West, by leading the way in covering news stories as they are rather than exaggerating. Thus, this research identifies the tones or slant (whether positive, negative or neutral) used to represent Ethiopia in the News content of CGTN.

Table 1.

Presentation of Slant/Tone of Stories

| Serial | Slant/Tones | Frequency | Percentage |
|--------|-------------|-----------|------------|
| 1 | Positive | 46 | 46.5 |
| 2 | Negative | 17 | 17.2 |
| 3 | Neutral | 36 | 36.4 |

Above, portrays the way slant/tone is used to represent Ethiopia. The tones are not only negative but also positive and neutral.

□ Positive Slant/Tone of Stories in the Representation of Ethiopia

In all, the positive tone chalked 46 times as its frequency, from the total number of news items of 99, that is forty-six point four (46.5) percent. Ethiopia is ready to launch Ethio-Djibouti Railway constructed by Chinese companies, China supports Ethiopia's feeding program, Ethiopia Airlines organizes Chinese New Year Celebration, were a few analogies.

□ Neutral Slant/Tone of Stories in the Representation of Ethiopia

Next in the ranking is Neutral scoring thirty-six (36), which is a thirty-six point four (36.4) percent. Stories tagged as neutral some had no comment from anyone, that reported statements but others too were neither negative nor positive, among them were Climate Friendly Infrastructure summit held in Ethiopia and South Korean President Park Geun-hye addresses in African Union summit at Addis Ababa.

□ Negative Slant of Stories in the Representation of Ethiopia

The last slant or tone being negative, also managed to secure seventeen (17) points or seventeen point two (17.2) per cent of the total. Most of the negative news arose from the famine and ethnic protests which were at its peak in 2015 and 2016. Those the study deemed as negative towards Ethiopia had words such as Ethiopia is one the most impoverished country in Africa, the government of Ethiopia unable to stop the protest arose in the country which meant Ethiopia is totally in chaos. Below is a graphical representation of Ethiopia's image in China Global Television Network

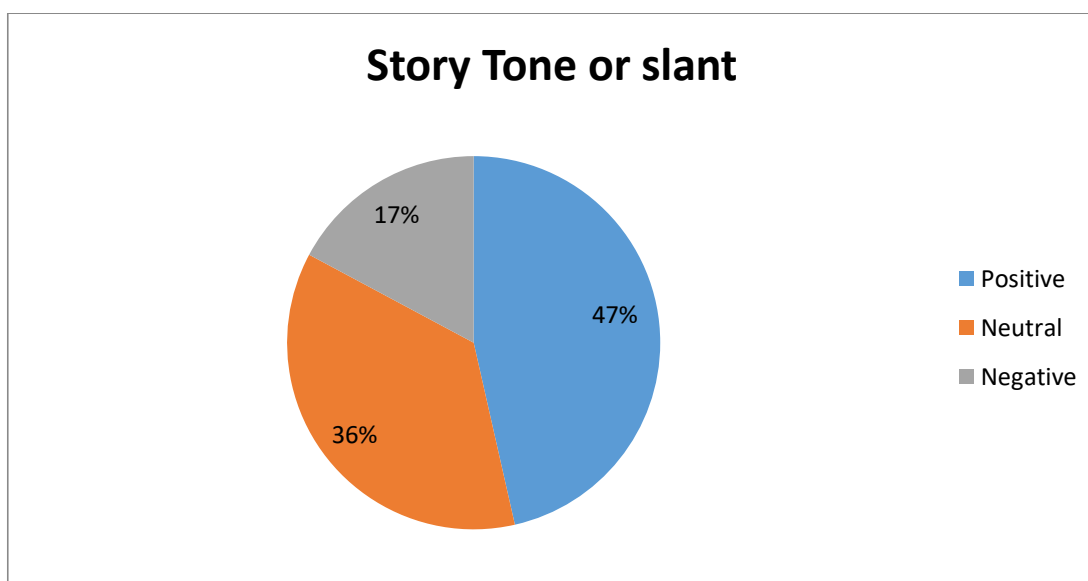


Figure 2. Presentation of story slant/Tone

Generic Frames in Reporting about Ethiopia

Table 2.

Generic frames used by CGTN in the news Stories broadcasted about Ethiopia

| Frames | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Conflict | 19 | 19.2 |
| Human Interest | 23 | 23.2 |
| Attribution of Responsibility | 10 | 10.1 |
| Morality | 3 | 3.1 |
| Economic Consequence | 44 | 44.4 |

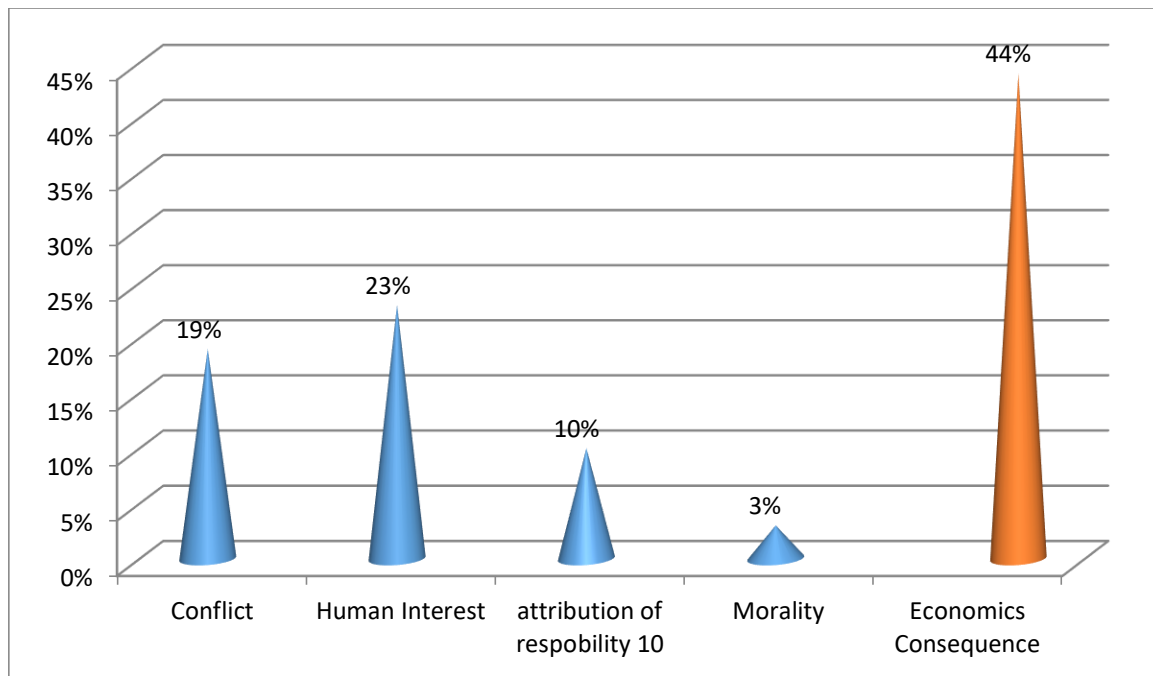


Figure 3. Generic frames found in the news stories disseminated about Ethiopia in the China Global Television Network.

China Global Television Network used mainly economic consequences frames while representing Ethiopia in its News stories. It takes a share of 44 news items out of the total news stories broadcasted in CGTN.

This frame is mainly appeared on stories related to trade, investment, aid and other economic activities. "Ethiopia's economy has grown in recent years, World Bank predicts Ethiopia will achieve Middle Income status by 2025, Chinese investment boosts Ethiopia's economy" are among economic packaging stories about Ethiopia on CGTN.

Human interest frame comes in second place next as the most dominant frame used in portraying Ethiopia in Chinese Media. It takes 23 stories out of 99 stories broadcasted on CGTN within two years. "Ethiopia 1st animation institute inaugurated, Chinese culture in Ethiopia is becoming popular, Light railway built by China changes lives of people in Ethiopia and Ethiopia's Airlines launch its 1st all female crew" are among the stories which have human interest frame. The conflict frame is the third predominant frame that appeared on CGTN news stories. According to the finding conflict frame grabs a slot of 19 stories among the total 99 stories aired on CGTN.

Themes Used in Narrating Stories about Ethiopia’s Image

In all, there were five themes the study considered in the process. They were Political, Social, Economic, Religion and Cultural. Out of ninety-nine (99) stories accessed from China Global Television, thirty (30), is economics, representing 30.3 percent. It is followed by politics with twenty-nine (29), meaning twenty-nine-point three (29.3) per cent and Social twenty-seven (27) or twenty-seven point three (27.3) in percentage. Whereas Cultural recorded ten (10), the same as ten point one (10.1) percent, Religion three (3) which is three (3%)

Table 3.

Presentation of Story themes about Ethiopia

| Serial | Main Idea | Theme | Frequency | Percentage |
|--------|--|-----------|-----------|------------|
| 1 | Enforcement of laws, Protests, stability, Peace keeping, official states visits, deepen friendship, Africa Union Summit, etc | Political | 29 | 29.3 |
| 2 | Donation, orphans, Education, citizens well-being, health deaths, famine and drought | Social | 27 | 27.3 |
| 3 | Investments,projects,employment, industries, loan, agriculture industrialization | Economic | 30 | 30.3 |
| 4 | Religious Celebrations | Religion | 3 | 3.0 |
| 5 | Chinese language, Fashion , Music festivals, New Year, etc | Cultural | 10 | 10.1 |

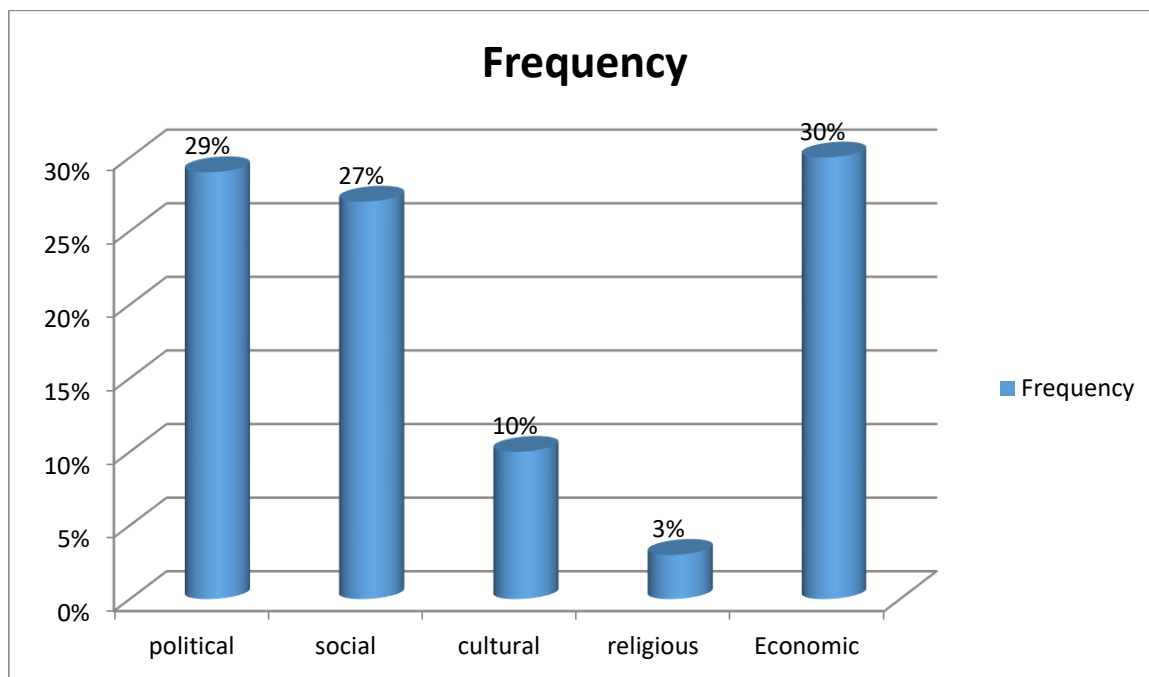


Figure 4. Presentation of Story themes about Ethiopia

The Themes Which Were Dominant of Ethiopia’s Representation in China Global Television Network

Here, the search found which of the themes were dominant or took the center stage and answered why that themes were mostly used. The table and chart properly give meaning to the findings

Table 4.

Presentation of predominant themes.

| Serial | Dominant Theme | Frequency | Percentage |
|--------|----------------|-----------|------------|
| 1 | Economic | 30 | 30.3 |
| 2 | Political | 29 | 29.3 |
| 3 | Social | 27 | 27.3 |

□ Economic Themes Have the Highest Frequency in CGTN's Representation of Ethiopia

China Global Television Network has covered a wide range of news stories in the representation of Ethiopia among whom were cultural, Religion, Social, Economic and Political. But the above table clearly show that the Economic theme, had the highest number of stories of thirty (30) among ninety-nine (99) stories chosen with a percentage of thirty point three (30.3%) from 2015 to 2016 as discovered by the study. It can be deduced that every government in relating to another, in terms of sharing ideas and others, would also want to do business to strengthen the well-being of its territory. Examples of the economic news items were Chinese investment boosts Ethiopia's economy, Ethiopians renaissance dam 42% completed, China is funding the largest cross border water project in Africa that stretches from Ethiopia to Djibouti, Chinese company built East African's largest cement factory in Ethiopia, Ethiopia's economy slowly transitioning to an industrial hub and many more would be grooming the economies of the two countries. Also China, one of the leading global producer and supplier of goods and services, expect the media such as China Global Television Network to highlight that aspect in order to maintain its dominance in trade and investment with Ethiopia.

□ Political Themes have the second largest number of the Stories

The somehow close contender of economic theme was political winning for itself twenty-nine (29) in frequency wise equalizing it to twenty-nine-point three (29.3) percent. This could be the fact that CGTN is a state-owned media as well as the mouth piece of government, thus, it throws its satellite also on events concerning the government of Ethiopia because it might be interested in strengthen the government to government relationship of countries. Due to the fact that Ethiopia is the headquarter of Africa Union and other continental and international organizations its' influence in African politics is detrimental. So, it made CGTN to give coverage of political stories as well. Ethiopia will not entertain leader of an armed struggle in South Sudan, South Korea-Ethiopia ties boost, Ethiopians troops surround South Sudan militia hostages, and Ethiopia goes to Vote are among political stories covered by CGTN.

□ Social Themes Used by CGTN in Representing Ethiopia

Thirdly, is the social theme and it managed twenty-seven (27) slots, simplified as twenty-seven-point three (27.3) percent in that after government to government interaction. Most of the stories in these theme is focused on education, health, donation and other social affairs which serve to promote living standard of the people. There were instances where Chinese company donates ICT equipment's to primary school, Chinese New year has celebrated in Ethiopia, Ethiopian schoolgirls learn ICT skills, Delegates pledges to provide better medical service to patients (It helps to create a healthy and productive society), More than 300 Ethiopian students get scholarship in China. These kind of cooperation on educational, health and other social sector help the people in the two countries to mutually share their different values and to strengthen people to people ties. The countries are striving to boost their relationship in this sector and that why CGTN also give emphasis on covering this issue.

Conclusion

As the study indicates, it is hinged on finding out the image of Ethiopia in the Chinese Media with the reference to China Global Television Network. China Global Television Network, a popular state-owned Chinese broadcast media, like other media stations, has seen as credible and reliable is trusted source to be given news reports on Ethiopia and more importantly, when it comes to China-Ethiopia relations. This study tends to dig out how CGTN, as a Chinese media represents Ethiopia using slant/tone, frames and topics or themes to that effect. Framing theory was used as the basis to appreciate CGTN's report

about Ethiopia. Meanwhile the combination of qualitative and quantitative gave room for better understanding.

The study hypothesized that there were no media representation on Ethiopia in the Chinese media hence, little or nothing at all is known about Ethiopia by the citizens of the People's Republic of China (PRC). However, the guess was far from the realities on the ground. There are numerous reports on Ethiopia, Ethiopia-China relations and Ethiopia's relation with other countries than expected. At the search on China Global Television Network the researcher revealed more than two hundred news stories only within two years. The stories were not only political in nature but also focused economic, social, cultural and these are quite enough to make Chinese citizens know about Ethiopia.

The researcher figures out that in the media understudy the framing of Ethiopia was positive and Ethiopia was portrayed as fast growing country in Africa and a close partner to China and other countries. China Global Television Network has significantly framed the image of Ethiopia in a positive frame while the negative one was much less even compared to the neutral one. This indicates that the representation of Ethiopia in the Chinese media came out as favorable. Ethiopia was depicted as 'fastest economy', and a 'development partner' for China and other countries. This implies Chinese media in general is providing an alternative voice to African's representation. The negative representation also shows that every media has two sides of the coin one that talks about positive issues and the other one which highlights negative ones as well.

In general, economic, Politics and social are the top three dominant themes about Ethiopia's image in China Global Television Network. This could mean that China has also seen Ethiopia, like any African Country, is a prospect for bilateral relations. The reason for this publicity level is that Ethiopia is seen as workable and peaceful country by the rest of the world including China, thus various governments are showing their impression through the media. Through these reports, agreements by other governments also become possible.

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THE ROLE OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY IN CONFLICTS: THE ANGLOPHONE CRISIS IN CAMEROON

RESEARCH ARTICLE

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ABSTRACT: Civil Society has been at the heart of providing leadership especially in conflict and crisis. The Anglophone crisis is no exception, and this work seeks to examine their role in providing protection, leadership and other factors. This work also examines the root cause of the crisis as an ongoing situation which can be applied in other countries. The study also established that the roles of Civil Society Organisations have helped in calling for the respect of human rights, promoting social justice, promoting gender equality and equity, and promoting women's and children's rights in Cameroon. The study revealed that Civil Society Organisations have been effective in ensuring the practice of transparency and accountability, promoting people's empowerment, pursuing fair partnership and solidarity among others. The paper established some challenges faced by Civil Society Organisations in the conflict prone areas and identified measures that can be put in place to deal with these challenges.

Keywords: Civil Society Organisations, Conflict, Protection, Accountability

Le Rôle De La Société Civile Dans Les Conflits: La Crise Anglophone Au Cameroun

RÉSUMÉ: La Société civile a été au cœur de l'exercice du leadership, en particulier dans les conflits et les crises. La crise anglophone ne fait pas exception à la règle, et ce travail vise à examiner leur rôle en matière de protection, de leadership et d'autres facteurs. Ce travail examine également la cause profonde de la crise en tant que situation permanente qui peut être appliquée dans d'autres pays. L'étude a également établi que le rôle des organisations de la société civile a contribué à appeler au respect des droits de l'homme, à la promotion de la justice sociale, à la promotion de l'égalité et de l'équité entre les sexes et à la promotion des droits des femmes et des enfants au Cameroun. L'étude a révélé que les organisations de la société civile ont été efficaces pour garantir la pratique de la transparence et de la responsabilité, promouvoir l'autonomisation des personnes, poursuivre un partenariat équitable et la solidarité, entre autres. Le document a établi certains défis rencontrés par les organisations de la société civile dans les zones sujettes à des conflits et a identifié les mesures qui peuvent être mises en place pour relever ces défis.

Mots-clés : Organisations de la société civile, Conflits, Protection, Responsabilité

Introduction

The 1990s became the golden era for civil society movements, associations and organisations, fuelling fruitful and vast debates on the role of CSOs in local, national and global spheres. The involvement and activities of CSOs expanded worldwide. We can observe this from the rapid increase of funds by OECD countries via NGOs. In 1985 to 1986, the funding provided amounted to USD 3.1 billion per year and increased to USD 6.7 billion in 1999 and USD 7.1 billion in 2001 (Debiel and Sticht, 2005). According to OECD statistics from 2013, funding increased to USD 19.3 billion in 2011. Civil society became the bedrock in conflicts prone states. To help ensure sustainable peace in conflict-prone communities in some parts of the world, the role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) cannot be overemphasised. One significant achievement of Civil Society Organizations in the League of Arab State (LAS) was their collective demand from LAS to take a tougher stand on human rights abuses in Syria in the conflict's heart. Subsequently, CSOs in Bahrain advocated for the creation of an Arab human right court by LAS that will enable CSOs to submit cases of human rights abuses and press for prosecution. Through this frantic role by CSOs in Syria and Bahrain, principal conflict agents could quell the conflict with.

The roles that civil society played varied in the manner in which they took part in providing services for the citizens across the cases. In Mindanao and Timor-Leste, CSOs and local leaders took part directly in early warning, civilian monitoring and inter-positioning. In Aceh and Southern Thailand, local civil society was mainly marginalised. They play an advocacy function by promoting peace. In Cambodia, the result is mixed: civil society was highly embedded in conflict prevention and mitigation, but the government now curtails its role in some ways. Civil society can wield the "power to expose" injustices and surface conflict non-violently. Several international CSOs, particularly in humanitarian relief, also operated in the country. By the mid-to-late 1990s, local CSOs emerged in fields like human rights protection and women's rights and violence against women. In recent years, there has been increased recognition of the role CSOs can play as partners with government and intergovernmental organisations in the conflict resolution and peace-building agenda (Barnes, 2006). Against this backdrop, it is important to examine the diverse interventions that civil society organisations undertake especially in crisis such as the anglophone crisis in Cameroon that will be worthy of replications in other warring countries and situations. Perhaps an interesting perspective for the reader might be to access the level of interventions that CSOs have done since the crisis started and how they have been felt across the Central Africa's sub region. The methodology used in this article is Key Informant interviews from the affected areas with an amalgamation of complimenting literatures from renowned scholars and authors.

Synopsis of the crisis

Cameroon was colonised by Germany, and after WWI was partitioned between Britain and France. Britain got 1/5 of the territory while France gained 4/5. However, in the early 1960s when the wind of decolonisation was blowing across the African continent, both colonial powers followed the movement and French Cameroon and British Cameroons achieved independence in 1960 and 1961, respectively. This placed the territories on a path to a unitary state which started when a Federal Republic of Cameroon was established in 1961. It had a flag with two golden stars, symbolising the two federated states. The resolutions that led to the establishment of the federal republic have been the subject of great discourse, as they provide the basis of how the country had to be governed. Before independence, the citizens of British Cameroons had the option of joining either the Republic of Cameroon or Nigeria. In a UN-supervised plebiscite, Southern Cameroons opted to join the Republic of Cameroon which meant the merging of two different cultures, values and ideas. The evolution from the federal state to the United Republic in 1972 and later to the Republic of Cameroon in 1984 weakened the promises and resolutions of the original agreement which was the federal structure. In 1984, the official name of the country was changed from the "United Republic of Cameroon" to the "Republic of Cameroon". Some Anglophones were opposed to this because it was the name adopted by French Cameroon when it attained independence in 1960. This led to several protests as it created a sense of loss of identity by the Anglophones. In 1985, Fon Gorji Dinka, an Anglophone lawyer, was arrested for issuing statements which called the government "unconstitutional" and for instigating Southern Cameroons to seek independence and be called Ambazonia, Konning & numnah (1997). The Anglophones felt marginalised. Over the years, they noticed the erosion of their Anglo-Saxon educational and judicial systems, values and cultures.

These accumulated grievances increased the frustrations of the people and led to constant strikes and demonstrations to seek the government's attention to provide solutions. The crisis escalated in 2016 because of strikes by Anglophone lawyers and teachers to which the government responded forcefully and only later tried to address the grievances. The summation of these problems which were neglected over the years, was the calls for the return to federalism while others called for outright secession.

This crisis has been the subject of several controversies, loss of lives and properties. The fertile soils of the two Anglophone regions have been for a long time, places of cultivation for agricultural products for local consumption, exportation and industrialisation. Schools, hospitals, touristic sites, markets and their daily activities have been disrupted and fear has become part and parcel of the lives of inhabitants in these regions. The mishandled cultural diversity has caused inequality and has laid the foundations for such a crisis.

The role of the civil society in the crisis's cause

Civil society as the "third sector" of society, distinct from government and business, and including the family and the private sphere or the aggregate of non-governmental organisations and institutions that

manifest interests and will of citizens. Sometimes the term civil society is used in the more general sense of "the elements such as freedom of speech and an independent judiciary, that make up a democratic society" (Collins English Dictionary). Recent years have witnessed a significant upsurge of organised private, non-profit activity in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America (Salamon and Anheier, 1997; Salamon, 1994; Fisher, 1993; Brown and Karten, 1991). Long recognised as providers of relief and promoters of human rights, such organisations are now increasingly viewed as critical contributors to economic growth and civic and social infrastructure essential for a minimum quality of life for the people (Salamon and Anheier, 1997; Fukuyama, 1995; OECD, 1995). Despite the growing importance, civil society organization's in the developing world remain only partially understood. Even basic descriptive information about these institutions their number, size, area of activity, sources of revenue and the policy framework within which they operate is not available in any systematic way.

The civil society sector falls in a conceptually complex social terrain that lies mostly outside the market and the state. For much of the recent history, social and political discourse has been dominated by the 'two-sector model' that acknowledges the existence of only two actors in the market (for-profit private sector) and the state. This is reinforced by the statistical conventions that have kept the "third sector" of civil society organization's invisible in official economic statistics (Salamon et al., 2003). On top of this, the sector embraces entities as diverse as village associations, grassroots development organisations, agricultural extension services, self-help cooperatives, religious institutions, schools, hospitals, human rights organisations and business and professional associations. Worthy of note is the fact that, the civil society is a bridge between the state and the population through diverse means.

As concerns the Anglophone crisis, protest marches by Anglophone lawyers in September 2016, expressing their grievances on the practice of Common Law in Cameroon, was the herald of the Anglophone crisis. The absence of an English version of the OHADA documents, the creation of two separate divisions of the Common Law and Civil law, protecting the Anglophone minority as stated in the Constitution given the bi-juridical, bilingual and bi-cultural nature of Cameroon, the absence of a Common Law section at the supreme court, the absence of English law in the judicial system and the non-appointment of notaries in the Anglophone regions (Ngoh, 2019), were calls for concern. Again, they complained about the inequality in representation and recruitment of legal staff. The Minister of Justice, Laurent Eso, confirmed this by declaring in 2017 that the legal body had 1542 magistrates made up of 39 on secondment, 91 at the ministry and 1412 in courts. Within these personnel were 1256 Francophone magistrates for 227 Anglophones, 554 judicial officers with 499 being Francophones and 15 Anglophones. Even in the Anglophone regions, there were mostly Francophone magistrates with civil law background not respecting the common law background of the regions. For instance, of the 128 magistrates in the North West, 67 were Francophones, of the 27 magistrates in Bamenda, 21 were Francophones (Relief Web, 2017).

According to the International Crisis Group's report of 2017, the dispersal of protesters by the police and army, was characterised by arrests, physical violence on individuals and other varying incidents which led to riots and temporal internet shutdown. Similarly, subsequent strikes in November by teachers, were in the same vein protesting loopholes in the educational system and a show of solidarity. Some injustices which they decried included the improvement of working conditions, maintenance of the Anglo-Saxon educational subsystem, increased recruitment of teaching and support staff, relocation of francophone teachers with little or no mastery of English language yet teaching in Anglophone regions and the establishment of a higher teacher's training institute, only for the Anglophone regions. They equally complained about the accessibility of top professional schools to Anglophone students (Relief Web, 2017). The grievances from the lawyers and teachers can be considered the immediate causes of the crisis. After several ghost towns and strikes, the teachers and lawyers formed the Cameroon Anglophone Civil Society Consortium (CACSC) incorporating civil society activists, lawyers and teachers to facilitate dialogue with the government. Some key leaders were later arrested, while a few others were released.

To address the grievances of the protestors, the government created an ad hoc committee led by the Prime minister, which was supposed to discuss the demands of the CACSC formed in December 2016. The demands made by the CASC had become the demands of the Anglophone community. Amongst those demands were an end to marginalisation, the return to federation, respect of the Anglo-Saxon legal and educational systems, unconditional release of those arrested during the strikes and riots and

the restoration of internet services in the Anglophone regions Tchoyi (2017). Several meetings were held, but the demands kept on increasing and no consensus was reached.

In January 2017, to mount pressure for the demands tabled to be considered, the leaders of the consortium introduced ghost town operations. Ghost towns were mainly characterised by submission to staying indoors on Mondays and alternative days declared by the consortium and later on Interim Government (IG) leaders. The manifestation of ghost towns in these regions, forced inhabitants to stay away from habitual activities on these days; rendering schools, offices, hospitals and businesses non-operational. Some special days on which ghost towns were declared include February 11th commemorating the youth day, 20th May, 7th October 2018 marking the presidential elections and the first weeks of September to prevent resumption of school activities in these regions. Following some of these developments, the CASC was outlawed and its leaders like Agbor Balla Nkongho (President of the Fako Lawyers Association), Paul Ayah Abine (Justice of the Supreme Court), Fontem Aforteka'a Neba (University Lecturer) and Mancho Bibixy (radio broadcaster) were arrested while others fled the national territory (Okereke, 2018). Some of these detained leaders were later released in August. According to prominent activist Agbor Balla, the lack of engagement in any form of dialogue following the release of the detained leaders, led to a massive protest in 2017 and the government's response to the protest instigated the proclamation of independence by separatists on October 1, 2017 (Nkongho, 2018). This further intensified the crisis, with the attacks on villages and subsequent evacuation of the inhabitants to other parts of the country and Nigeria. According to the OCHA report (2018), the high level of insecurity and rampant violence obliged over 400,000 people to move from their homes with around 351,000 IDPs. Fear of the unknown had become the order of the day, as the killings and kidnappings intensified. This had caused the inhabitants of these areas to move to bushes, nearby towns and even to Nigeria.

To assuage some grievances that had been raised, the government established the National Commission on the Promotion of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism (NCPBM) in 2017, aimed at fostering bilingualism in the country. Subsequently, a recruitment of 1,000 bilingual teachers was launched. The Rapid Intervention Battalion (BIR) were also deployed to reinforce the operations led by the police and gendarmes (Okereke, 2018). The administrative structures in these regions have established mechanisms to monitor public conduct. The church authorities equally attempted to contribute to the peace process, by making plans to organise an Anglophone General Conference (AGC) since 2018. This initiative led by His Eminence Cardinal Christian Tumi, the President of the Cameroon Baptist Convention; Tih Pius, the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon; Pastor Samuel Fonki, the Imams of Buea and Bamenda Central Mosques and supported by several activists, journalists and politicians, to discuss and recommend solutions to the crisis was not finally materialised (Journal du Cameroun, 2019).

The arrest of the consortium leaders turned the crisis to a cyber-led crisis. The Anglophone diaspora activists assumed the leadership of the struggle and began claims for secession, while the crusaders of federalism remained steadfast. What can be Anglophone nationalism became more prominent with the creation of varied groups whose sole aim was secession from the Republic of Cameroon. According to the Centre for Human Rights and Democracy in Africa & Raoul Wallenberg Centre for Human Rights report of June 2019, groups of armed civilians have emerged into structured insurgent groups and organisations, controlling most parts of the Anglophone regions. Some main groups include: Ambazonia Governing Council (AGC) which later became the Interim Government (IG), the Southern Cameroons Ambazonia Consortium United Front (SCACUF), the Southern Cameroons National Council (SCNC), the Southern Cameroons Youth League (SCYL), the Southern Cameroons Anglophone People's Organization (SCAPO) and the Movement for the Restoration of the Independence of Southern Cameroons (MORISC). Within these organisations, armed groups like the Ambazonia Defence Forces (ADF) which is the military branch of the AGC and the Southern Cameroons Defence Forces (SCDF) are very active in the fight. These armed groups operate within localities composed of several fighters including men, women, young boys and girls forming smaller varied bands like the the Nso Liberation Army in Bui and the Red Dragons of Lebialem Defence Force.

In January 2018, the leaders of the IG were arrested in Nigeria and deported to Cameroon where they were imprisoned. Killings and many barbaric acts have been rampant since the crisis erupted in 2016. Administrative officials, security officials, civilians, separatists, foreigners and even church officials have been harmed by either the security forces or the separatists' fighters. On a visit to the South-West region in July 2018, the convoy of the Minister of Defence was attacked by separatist fighters. Casualties were

recorded on both sides, with the army killing some separatist fighters while some soldiers and a journalist were harmed (Enow, 2018). In November of the same year, 81 students and some staff members were kidnapped from a school in Nkwen in the North-west region (Lunn & Brooke-Holland, 2019). That same month according to CGTN (2018), a Kenyan missionary; Father Cosmas Omboto Ondari was killed in Kembong in the South-west region. Although eye witnesses blamed the military for the killing of the priest, the Minister of Defence; Beti Assomo stated officially, that the act was perpetuated by secessionists dressed in military uniform. This version was directly contradictory to that of the Bishop of the Mamfe Diocese; Bishop Andrew Nkea. According to Eustachewich (2018), earlier in October an American missionary Reverend Charles Trumann Wesco, was killed in Bambui in the North-West region, while driving his car with his wife. A report claims he was caught in a crossfire between the warring parties, hence making it difficult to apportion the blame. Under these happenings, on 30 November 2018, a National Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration Committee was created to “provide a framework for receiving and reintegrating repentant ex-fighters of Boko Haram and members of armed groups in the North-West and South-West regions.” (PRC, 2018). The atrocities have been so rampant if some traditional rulers were forced to flee from their areas. This was the case in Lebialem on October 1, 2019, during the second anniversary of the “Ambazonian” independence celebration. Traditional rulers in Lebialem (a subdivision in the South-West region) were forced to flee.

A Major National Dialogue was conveyed by the President and took place from the 30th September to the 4th October 2019 in Yaounde. Through this attempt, all stakeholders were invited to provide solutions to the crisis, including the separatists. Unfortunately, the separatists did not respond positively to the call and were absent possibly because in conveying the dialogue; the president laid emphasis on the fact that the dialogue will take place within the framework of the constitution (Major National Dialogue, n.d.).

Convincingly, the civil society through its justifiable claims has a huge role to play in the Anglophone crisis. Their demands which were only seriously addressed several years later came as an accumulation of several levels of frustrations and led to the escalation of the crisis. The frustration-aggression theory propounded by Dollard and Doob et al. in 1939 propounds that frustration can emerge when people of a community, group, or an individual does not have enough means to survive and this sets the bedrock for conflict or because of a feeling of inequality or marginalisation. From a psychological point of view set up by proponents of the theory, human beings rarely like being frustrated for a long period and when it occurs, they forget about their liaison with those causing the frustration, Breuer and Elson (2017). This therefore marks the important role of the civil society, for Cameroon specifically, it would have been easier for the government to attend to those needs/ demands when they were repeatedly tabled before 2016. All attempts made to stop the crisis since 2016 have not yielded positively till 2020. The government has quite attended to certain demands and made provisions to improve some faulty areas, but the crisis has been more damaging both for the inhabitants of the regions and the government.

According to the OCHA report (2018), the high level of insecurity and rampant violence obliged over 400,000 people to move from their homes with around 351,000 IDPs. The UNHCR report of March 2019, states that the consistent military operations and attacks from armed civilians, led to the outflow of over 35,000 refugees to the Nigerian borders and 437,000 IDPs. Over 530,000 IDPs were estimated as of September 2019 (OCHA, 2019) and 679,393 IDPs according to the UNHCR report of March 2020. The increasing number of IDPs from the crisis shows that the crisis has not yet end despite the multiple attempts from the government, individuals and the civil society.

Activities undertaken by Civil Society Organisations during the crisis

Having highlighted the role of CSOs in the outbreak of the anglophone crisis, one might be left with some questions about how these roles were undertaken by these organisations. We have therefore focused on some pertinent activities that can be undertaken within the crisis:

Protection

Although the function of protection of lives and property is the primary responsibility of government, CSOs have often been supporting the government in contexts where it cannot perform this primary function because of armed conflict. Civil society initiatives frequently emerge during the conflict and its

aftermath to protect citizen life, rights and property against threats by conflict actors or the state. Protection functions are performed by International Non-Governmental Organisations (I-NGOs) that support domestic civil society either indirectly, through their presence as monitoring watchdogs (Orjuela 2003), or directly through international accompaniment. Barnes (2005); Orjuela (2004); Eviota (2005) notes that Peace Brigades International, for example, sends outsiders into conflict zones to protect national peace or human rights, activists. Other examples are communities in the Philippines and Colombia that have negotiated zones of peace where no arms are allowed. This was the work by institutions such as CRS and other International NGOs in Cameroon.

TRESA (2005) also declares that another aspect of protection is supported to security-related interventions such as defining, small arms control, and disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of ex-combatants. In Mozambique, churches launched a follow-up demobilization campaign after the official UN demobilization process had ended. More frequently, however, CSOs collaborate with government or donor-led efforts. The capacity of CSOs to perform the protection function is limited by contexts with a high level of violence and coercive state with a dysfunctional rule of law institutions.

Monitoring and Early Warning

The primary provider of services (including health and education) in any state is governed. To enhance the provision of such services, CSOs have to monitor the actions and policies of government to ensure it stays faithful to government's core objective of providing the greatest happiness to the greatest number of people. In conflict contexts, CSOs observe and monitor the activities of conflict actors to enhance accountability and a precondition for the protection and the advocacy/public communication functions of civil society. The primary focus of monitoring during armed conflict is on human rights violations. International and local groups can monitor the conflict situation and recommend decisioning-makers, provide information to advocacy groups, and provide inputs for early warning. This civil society function is relevant in all conflict phases, and its impact is maximized when all actors coordinate closely. To strengthen the early warning function, there is increasing cooperation between local, national and I-NGOs but also with regional organizations.

Advocacy and Public Communication

Advocacy according to (Aall 2001; Paffenholz 2003) is one of the core functions in peacebuilding and primarily a role for domestic civil society. Civil society can articulate the interests of social groups, especially marginalized groups, and create communication channels to raise public awareness and facilitate the inclusion of issues in the public agenda. Most peacebuilding schools assume that the influence of civil society on conflict management is indirect and limited to an advocacy and communication role, and applying pressure on negotiating parties and advocacy for specific issues. Advocacy is not only very relevant to peacebuilding but is also mainly conducted most times by CSOs with high levels of effectiveness. Advocacy is relevant in all phases of conflict, but its nature will vary according to conflict phases. During the conflict, civil society advocates for peace agreements, against violence and human rights violations, for broad-based participation in the peace process, and specific issues.

Information campaigns and opinion polls can link the public at large with official negotiation processes (Accord 2002) or official parallel civil society forums can provide a more direct link to Track 1 negotiations (Stanley and Holiday 2002; Armon et al. 1997). In the post-conflict phase, civil society advocacy focuses on implementing the peace agreements, or specific conflict issues such as violence, gender, or the need for a culture of peace (Orjuela 2004; Jeong 2005). Independent media play an important role in peacebuilding by reaching a broad range of the population, facilitating public communication, expanding the audience for advocacy campaigns Richmond (2006) and raising awareness on the need for and feasibility of non-violent solutions. Disseminating objective and non-partisan information (on mass killings, human rights violations, and truth and reconciliation efforts) is a critical media contribution to peacebuilding. Richmond (2006) also declares that the media, however, can also perpetuate ethnic stereotypes and fuel further hostilities and violence. In Rwanda, for example, radio Mille Collines preached hatred and helped orchestrate the genocide. The most effective form of advocacy is mass mobilization for large-scale change, such as the end of the war or authoritarian rule. The main limiting factors for advocacy are linked to the shrinking space for CSOs to act and a highly restricted media.

Socialization

The socialization function is not only performed by the civil society as leadership for socialization is provided by other institutions including the school, church, political parties and the family.

The socialization function of civil society aims to inculcate a culture of peace in divided conflict societies by promoting attitude change toward peaceful conflict resolution and reconciliation. Most activities adopt a conflict resolution approach and include dialogue projects, reconciliation initiatives, peace education, exchange programs and peace camps, conflict resolution training and capacity building. Research (Anderson and Olson, 2003; Paffenholz 2003) suggests that civil society initiatives which support attitude change and a culture of peace are only effective when they can reach a critically large number of people. The precondition for effectiveness of socialization initiatives is low level, or the absence of, violence. The civil society, in supporting the socialization process, engages with influential pre-existing institutions such as schools. The main limiting factors for socialization revolve around the shrinking of space for CSOs to act and policies against freedom of association.

Social Cohesion

It is logical for conflict contexts to be sharply divided between distinct groups that often transcend the main adversarial groups. Enhancing social cohesion is, therefore, an important civil society function in peacebuilding, as conflict usually destroys bridging social capital. Restoring bridging social capital can help to curb inter-group violence, and revitalise group interactions, interdependency and solidarity (Jeong 2005; Orjuela 2004; Paffenholz 2003). Putnam (2002) maintains that engagement and participation in voluntary associations have the potential to build and strengthen social capital, but rather than building bonding ties within groups, the aim should be to build bridging ties across adversary groups i.e., a 'conflict-sensitive social cohesion' function.

Research by World Vision (O'Reilly 1998) confirmed the importance of bridging social capital, identifying how development projects helped increase levels of contact, interaction and communication across geographic, religious, ethnic, cultural and class divide. This led to improved cooperation, unity and interdependence between groups. Although systematic evidence is lacking, CSOs conflict sensitive social cohesion initiatives may have greater potential to influence peacebuilding.

Research in India (Varshney, 2002) found that ethnically mixed organizations were effective in building bridging ties across ethnic groups, leading to an institutionalised peace system that facilitated the control of violence. The precondition for the effectiveness of social cohesion initiatives is again a low level, or absence of, violence. It enhances the effectiveness of social cohesion when initiatives are aimed at bringing people together for a common cause. The main limiting factor for social cohesion is extreme levels of violence.

Intermediation and Facilitation

An important civil society function is to intermediate between interest groups and the state. Local facilitation by CSOs is highly relevant during all phases of conflict peacebuilding. This is often performed by community leaders (such as traditional or religious leaders) or by Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) who facilitate dialogue between conflict parties and the community or between community and returnees. In peace-building, intermediation and facilitation can take place not only between the state and citizens but also between conflict parties, within groups and on different levels of society. The major activities within this function are facilitation initiatives (formal or informal) between armed groups and between armed groups and communities or development agencies. Intermediation can be performed by international and/or domestic civil society. Paffenholz (1998) declared that domestic civil society has little involvement in direct facilitation between conflict parties, especially when it involves actual peace negotiations, as this role is primarily played by external parties, especially governments (Norway in Sri Lanka) or multilateral agencies (UN in Guatemala).

He further revealed that sometimes this role can be taken up by international CSOs as with Comunita di Sant'Egidio in Mozambique or the Geneva-based NGO Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, which facilitated the first negotiations in Aceh (Paffenholz, 1998). Domestic CSOs can play a facilitation role at several levels, including between civil society and conflict parties at the village or district level (e.g., civil society representatives negotiated the release of citizens by armed groups in Nepal); to bring conflict

parties to the negotiation table (e.g., the Inter-Religious Council in Sierra Leone got government and rebels to agree to peace talks in the late 1990s), to negotiate peace zones or violence-free days (e.g., the churches in El Salvador negotiated peace days in order to carry out a child vaccination campaign; between aid agencies and conflict parties to deliver services directly to communities (Orjuela 2004). Jeong (2005) revealed that in some conflict zones, local civil society acts as mediators or facilitators where the government or foreign aid structures cannot operate (e.g., Nepal) or where national or I-NGOs need facilitation to better understand the local context. Civil society has unique potential in peacebuilding, but analysing CSOs from an actor-oriented perspective denies one a deeper understanding of its contributions to peacebuilding.

Functional analysis of CSOs in peace-building brings to focus the Utstein peacebuilding palette and shows the relevance of CSOs in supporting peacebuilding initiatives from the four components of the palette which is identified to include: security, socio-economic foundations, political framework and reconciliation and justice. The civil society has proven to be a major factor in delivering the objective of peacebuilding from this perspective. The main enabling and disabling conditions for CSOs peacebuilding functions comes from the possibility of a coercive state, the level of violence, and level of influence from strong regional actors. Thus, the engagement of the international community in initiatives that can reduce violence and enhance protection and supporting initiatives that can strengthen the creation of an enabling environment can secure the fundamental precondition for CSOs to act.

An appropriate starting point for more effective engagement of CSOs in peacebuilding is that civil society is viewed not from an 'actor-oriented' perspective but from the perspective of their functions. In view of this, the strategy must therefore seek to build the capacity of the civil society sector as much as those of their government and must emphasize a sustained rather than ad hoc engagement. We should structure the basis for this strategy to promote mutual benefit and respect and seek to draw on their wide outreach and mobilizing capacity to support peacebuilding initiatives. Ultimately, it should be based on recognition of the fact that to sustain peacebuilding efforts, all available capacities in the polity need to be mobilized. The civil society sector is a critical resource. Despite the functions of CSOs in peacebuilding, its support cannot replace political actions, particularly in the areas of protection, socialisation and service delivery.

This functional perspective highlights seven primary functions that CSOs can play in peacebuilding. While these functions cannot be said to be exhaustive, there, however, lay a foundation for a broader exploration of the functions of CSOs in peace-building. The functions of CSOs are closely related, as a result, CSOs may be active in one or more functions, providing a lead role in some and supportive roles in others. The State, for instance, is mainly responsible for protecting lives and property, and socialization occurs not only in voluntary associations but also in the family, classroom and political parties. The Social Development Network (2006) declares that CSOs has a comparative advantage in functions related to socialization, the culture of peace and social cohesion. Protection, monitoring and accountability, and advocacy and public communication functions are complementary and their effectiveness depends on collaboration with other actors. In line with Utstein (2004) peacebuilding framework, CSOs takes on different functions and roles in the transition from conflict to peace, and indifferent conflict phases. During conflict or its immediate aftermath, priority is on protection, monitoring, and advocacy and public communication. Reconciliation, the culture of peace, and peace education functions are more long term, and thus likely more relevant in the post-conflict phase.

As conflicts end and public institutions gradually recover, the dynamics between citizens, CSOs, and the state change. Overall, the capacity of CSOs to function properly is shaped by internal institutional factors including international partnerships and the enabling environment in which CSOs operate. The real rise of civil society as a centre of an intellectual and political discussion came about when a social order of a community was challenged by the progress of a market economy (Howell and Pearce, 2001). This issue was central in various classical theories of civil society expounded by thinkers of the past, including Locke and Hegel. Since a recent revival of civil society in Central and Eastern Europe in the late 1980s, the diversity of its theories has further been amplified with works of contemporary theorists, such as Gellner, Hall, and Taylor (Kumar, 1993). The various sets of civil society definitions within the western thought can be subsumed under two traditions: liberal and communitarian (Cohen and Arato, 1995).

Although the civil society through the demands of the lawyers and teachers in 2016 and the CASC has an important role to play in the outbreak of the crisis, the fact that the crisis has made it difficult for CSOs to operate in the regions cannot be undermined. Conclusively, it is important to note that several local CSOs have been carrying some of these activities in order to minimise the effects of the crisis to no avail. This is mainly because the Anglophone crisis is quite complex because it generated from the demands of a minority to an armed conflict whereby separatists kill, kidnap and abuse of both Anglophone locals and francophones. Similarly, the army has been accused of diverse atrocities on civilians. In such an environment, it is difficult for the civil society to operate because both parties are hostile to the Anglophone community they claim to protect.

Conclusion

From the article, the reader can observe that Civil Society has been positively involved in helping societies and communities to reach their full potentials. The study established that advocacy and campaigns have a significant influence on the anglophone crisis in Cameroon, and civic engagement has a significant effect on the people, while CSOs participation also has a significant influence entirely. The study identified some measures that can be put in place to deal with the challenges that CSOs face in their work in Cameroon. Among the measures identified in the work were reducing government interference, provision of sufficient funding, capacity building and using the non-partisan approach.

The study concludes that if these measures are adhered to, CSOs will be efficient and effective, trustworthy and reliable, impartial and independent. Though the country has hundreds of formal civil society groups; most of them are not institutions. Not that institutions are a priori good. Institutions can be bad. Institutions have greater potentials for organizational autonomy, coherence of mandate, functional boundaries and reliability of procedures and adherence to them.

Civil society organizations without these features have constrained capacities for exacting accountability. And these are the features that most civil society groups lack in the country.

Most formal civil society groups do not have administrative and financial rules. A huge number of civil society organizations in Cameroon are one-man owned, existing for accessing foreign aid. Also, civic organizations in Cameroon have very weak financial resource base. The weakness here is related more to lack of regular financial input than to the amount of money civil society groups irregularly get. It is more like too much money at one time, and too little money at another time. Too much money leads to absorptive capacity problems, too little money leads to the unsustainability of programmes. Another critical formal civil society deficit relates to information and evidence management. Civil society groups and leaders make very little effort to get and understand key state policy documents. Research and investigations are hardly part of CSOs information and evidence gathering agenda. When a CSO goes public with a particular issue, radio, workshops, and newspaper advertorials make up the narrow spectrum of their skills.

Civil society groups show a huge lack of specific skills for interfacing with and engaging the central state, donors, or other civil society groups. Civil society engagements with the state on many issues are almost always driven by external support opportunities. There is always an external hand that helps to articulate entry point opportunities. What this means is that many other issues requiring civil society attention may lay unattended in the absence of external support opportunities. Even when civil society groups have identified a particular issue and are engaging the state on it, lack of negotiating and lobbying skills usually distract from their abilities to ensure change. Civil society groups often resign to the pessimism that nothing will come out of their accountability demands, or resort to ad hoc, unstructured, and uncivil ways. Sometimes, physical confrontation with agents of the government has been part of civil society's negotiation of change in their social accountability demands.

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AFRİKA'NIN EKONOMİK BÜTÜNLEŞMESİNE GİDEN YOL: AFRİKA KITASAL SERBEST TİCARET ANTLAŞMASI

ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESİ

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ÖZ: Ekonomik bütünleşme, 21. yüzyılın en çok üzerinde durulan konularından biridir. Günümüzde uluslararası sistemi kontrol etmeye çalışan devletlerin büyük bir çoğunluğu gerek ekonomik gerekse sosyo-politik bütünleşmesini sağlamış olanlardır. Bu sistemde ancak bütünleşmeyi sağlayarak varlık sürdürmenin mümkün olduğunu kavrayan Afrikalı liderler, bu yönde önemli çalışmalar yürütmektedir. Afrika Birliği çatısında toplanan bu liderlerin bu yöndeki en önemli hamlelerinden biri de 2019 yılında yürürlüğe giren, bir milyardan fazla potansiyel tüketiciye hitap eden, dünyanın en büyük serbest ticaret bölgesini oluşturacak olan Afrika Kıtasal Serbest Ticaret Antlaşması'dır. Afrika'yı ekonomik bütünleşmeye götüren bu antlaşma, kökü diasporaya dayanan Pan-Afrikanist düşüncenin bir başarısıdır. Ancak, bu antlaşmanın amaçlarına ulaşması için bütün tarafların kayıtsız desteğine ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır. Çalışmamızda, bu antlaşmayı Afrika'da ekonomik bütünleşmenin köşetaşı yapan faktörler farklı açılardan ele alınacaktır. Bu doğrultuda, antlaşmanın avantajları, yol haritası, işlevselliği ve zorlukları ortaya konulacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ekonomik bütünleşme, Pan-Afrikanizm, Afrika Birliği, Serbest Ticaret bölgesi.

The Way To Africa's Economic Integration: The African Continental Free Trade Treaty

ABSTRACT: Economic integration is one of the most emphasized issues of the 21st century. Today, most of the states that try to control the international system are those who have achieved both economic and socio-political integration. African leaders, realizing that it is possible to survive in this system only by ensuring integration, carry out important studies in this direction. One of the most important moves of these leaders gathered under the umbrella of the African Union in this direction is the African Continental Free Trade Agreement, which entered into force in 2019, appealing to more than a billion potential consumers, and will constitute the world's largest free trade zone. This treaty leading to economic integration in Africa is a success of Pan-Africanist thought, rooted in the diaspora. However, the indifferent support of all parties is needed for this treaty to achieve its objectives. In our study, the factors that make this treaty the cornerstone of economic integration in Africa will be discussed from different angles. In this direction, advantages, roadmap, functionality and difficulties of the agreement will be revealed.

Keywords: Economic Integration, Pan-Africanism, African Union, Free Trade Area.

Giriş

İçinde yaşadığımız dünyayı, kendimizi, parçası olduğumuz toplumları ve bizi karakterize eden kültürleri nasıl anlamamızı etkileyen çeşitli etkenleri anlatan küreselleşme, yaşantımıza büyük değişiklikler getirmiştir (Mazrui, 2003). Bu kavram, oluşum süreci ile birlikte başta toplumlar ve ülkeler arasında olmak üzere, siyasal, kültürel ve sosyal bakımdan büyük ölçüde bütünleşme sağlamıştır. Bu süreç, gelişmiş ülkelerle birlikte az gelişmiş ve gelişmekte olan ülkeleri de etkilemiştir (Bakan, Kocağ, 2012).

Birçok araştırmacı için, küreselleşme Amerika Birleşik Devletleri Başkanı Ronald Reagan'ın ve İngiltere Başbakanı Margaret Thatcher'ın 1980'li yıllarda savundukları serbest ticaret politikasına karşılık gelen bir kavramdır (Ghorra-Gobin, 2017). Küreselleşmenin önemli göstergelerinin arasından coğrafi mesafenin kısılmasını, mekânların yakınlaşmasını, dünyada İngilizcenin *lingua franca*(ortak dil) haline gelmesini sayabiliriz. Küreselleşme süreci ile birlikte, bütünleşmenin önemi de artmıştır (Mazrui, 2003, ss. 1-5).

Bütünleşme kavramı son yıllarda Afrika'da büyük ilgi çekmektedir. Afrika'da bütünleşme konusu, Afrika Birliği Örgütü'nün (AfBÖ) kuruluş sürecinde ciddi bir şekilde tartışılmış olsa da bu tartışmalar 1900 yılındaki Birinci Pan-Afrika Konferansına kadar uzanmaktadır. Bu yüzden Afrika'nın bütünleşme hareketleri, iki sürece ayrılmaktadır. Birinci süreç diasporada başlamış olup William Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Edward Bleyden, Anténor Firmin, Haile Selassie gibi isimler tarafından yürütülmüştür. İkinci süreç ise, birinciden farklı olarak kıtada devam etmiştir. Bu süreç, birbirine iki zit blok tarafından yönlendirilmiştir.

Biri esasen 6 ülkeden oluşan, federalist ve doğrudan bir bütünleşmeyi savunan Kazablanka blokudur. Öteki ise 24 ülkeden oluşan, fonksiyonalist ve aşamalı bir bütünleşmeyi savunan Monrovia blokudur (Kra, 2017).

21. yüzyıl, Afrika tarihi için çok önemlidir. Bu yüzyılda, bütün kıtayı temsil eden AfBÖ kurulmuştur. Bu önemi açıklayan iki önemli olay daha bulunmaktadır. Birincisi; Afrika Birliği'nin 50 yıllık stratejik planını içeren "2063 Ajandası"dır. İkincisi ise; Pan-Afrikanizm düşüncesine dayanan ve Afrika'nın bölgesel bütünleşmesinin mihenk taşıını oluşturan "Afrika Kıtasa Serbest Ticaret Antlaşmasıdır" (Nshimbi, 2019; Aniche, 2020, s. 2).

Bu çalışmanın birinci kısmında, Afrika'da bütünleşmenin başlangıcını teşkil eden Pan-Afrikanizm düşüncesinin doğuşu ve evrimi ele alınacaktır. Bu doğrultuda, Pan-Afrikanizm'in olgunlaşmasında önemli rol oynayan Pan-Afrika konferansının ve kongrelerinin üzerinde durulacaktır. Daha sonra, Pan-Afrikanizm düşüncesinin kucağında doğan kıtasal örgütün (AfBÖ/AfB) kuruluş süreci ve bütünleşmeye yönelik çabaları, değinilecektir. Çalışmamızın ikinci kısmında, AfB'nin 2018 yılında 44 ülkesi tarafından imzalan (imzalanan ülke sayısı şu an 54'tür) ve 2019'un Temmuz'unda 25 ülkesinin onaylanmasıyla (bu sayı şu an 34) yürürlüğe giren Afrika Kıtasa Serbest Ticaret Antlaşması'nın etkililiği ve işlevselliği, kıtaya sağlayacağı avantajlar ve karşıladığı zorluklar analiz edilecektir. Elde edilen bilgilerin değerlendirilmesi ve sonuca bağlanması ise çalışmamızın üçüncü ve son kısmında olacaktır.

Afrika'da Bütünleşme Hareketleri

Bir zamanlar dünyanın en büyük imparatorluklarının ve medeniyetlerinin yer aldığı Afrika kıtası, 14. yüzyılda başlayan üçgen veya transatlantik ticaretinin ortaya çıkmasıyla birlikte dünya tiyatrosunun sahnesi olmuştur. Akabinde 19. yüzyılda başlayan kolonyalizm da Afrika'yı mağdur etmiştir. Bu iki travma, kıtaya büyük hasarlara uğratmıştır. Öyle ki, günümüze kadar izleri ve etkileri devam etmektedir (Boumama, 2016, ss. 247-264; Delibaş, 2019, ss. 2-4).

Afrika insanı, yaşadığına benzer bir durumu daha yaşamaması için bütünleşme yoluna gitmiştir. İlk olarak diasporada hak ve özürülük arayışı olarak başlayan Pan-Afrikanizm hareketi, 20. yüzyılın başında bütün Afrikalıların bütünleşmesine çağrıda bulunan bir hareket olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Daha sonra, kıtanın bağımsızlığa kavuşmasında yol haritası olmuştur. Pan-Afrikanizm ışığında 20. yüzyılda ilk kıtasal örgüt (AfBÖ/AfB) kurulmuştur. Bu örgüt, kıtayı siyasi ve ekonomik olarak güçlü kılabilmesi ve uluslararası sistemin dinamik bir gücü yapabilmesi için önemli adımlar atmıştır.

Erken Dönem Afrika Bütünleşme Hareketleri (1900-1945)

Pan-Afrikanizm Düşüncesinin Doğuşu ve Evrimi

Amerika ve Karayipler'de ortaya çıkan Pan-Afrikanizm, Afrika'nın ilk bütünleşme hareketi olarak tarihe geçmiştir. Köleliğin kaldırılmasıyla birlikte ve uzun bir direniş sonucunda, siyah adam da özgürlüğüne kavuşmuştur; ancak kimliksiz ve yüzyıllardır sözde ikinci sınıf insan muamelesinden kırılmış vaziyettedir. Ayrıca, kendini beyazın egemen olduğu bir dünyada bulmuştur. Dolayısıyla yeni bir mücadeleyle baş başa kalmıştır. Söz konusu mücadele, insanlığının tam özgürlük ve eşitlik içinde tanınmasıdır. Bunu sürdürebilmesi için elinde bulunan tek pusula, bir ırka (siyah ırk) ve yere (Afrika) ait olma hissidir. Nostalji ve umut taşıyan bu zihinsel pusula, uzun bir kurtuluş sürecinin inşa edilebilmesi için temel olacaktır. (Schmid, 2000, ss. 231-275; Kuryla, 2020).

Pan-Afrikanizm'in everilmesinde ve uluslararası camiada tanınmasında, Pan-Afrika Konferansı ve kongreleri önemli rol oynamıştır. Bunları sırasıyla ele alacağız.

Panafrikanizm Konferansı ve Kongreleri

23-25 Temmuz 1900 tarihleri arasında Londra'da, siyah aydınlar tarafından bir konferans düzenlenmiştir. Bu aydınlar, yaşadıkları dünyanın adil olmadığını ve bunun düzeltilmesi için sürekli ve kalıcı bir mücadeleye verilmesi gerektiğini düşünmektedir. Aralarında Henry Sylvester Williams, WEB Du Bois ve Marcus Garvey gibi isimler yer almaktadır. Böylece, Pan-Afrikanizm hareketi, "Birinci Pan-Afrika Konferansı" ile başlamıştır (Bathily, 2012; Lopes, 2013; Kuryla, 2020). Birinci Pan-Afrika konferansı, Pan-Afrikanizm hareketinin başlama noktası olmasının yanı sıra, aydınların tanışmasını ve örgütsel olarak

yapılanmasını da sağlamıştır. Konferansın amacı ise, tüm siyahların dikkatini hareketin varlığına çekmektir (OIF, 2004). Böylece Londra'da, birçok kötülüğün acısını çeken siyahların dünya çapında bir araya gelmelerini, haklarını koruyan ve seslerini simgeleyen bir yapı doğmuştur (Mark, Philipia, 2018).

Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nın sonunda, Du Bois, birkaç arkadaşı ile birlikte, Afrika'nın ortasında siyahların bağımsız bir devletini kurmayı amaçlayan bir mutabakat hazırlayarak Amerikan yönetimine sunmuştur. Bu mutabakat, Ocak 1919'da *The Crisis* gazetesinde yayınlandıktan sonra birçok kişi tarafından olumlu görüş almıştır. Daha sonra, Du Bois, Amerika ve diğer Avrupa ülkelerinin ordularına katılan siyahilerin durumunu incelemek adına Paris'e giderek 19-22 Şubat 1919 tarihleri arasında Birinci Pan-Afrika Kongresini düzenlemiştir. Paris'te toplanan ilk kongrenin amacı, Versay Barış Konferansı'ndan ve altı yüz seksen bin siyahinin Avrupalı müttefiklerin zaferine sağladıkları katkıdan yararlanarak dünyadaki siyahların sesini duyurmaktır. Bu kongre, dünyanın dört bir yanındaki siyahlardan 57 delegeyi bir araya gelmelerini sağlamıştır (Ouedraogo, 2017).

İkinci Pan-Afrika Kongresi, 28-29 Ağustos tarihleri arasında Londra'da, 31 Ağustos-3 Eylül arasında Brüksel'de ve 4-5 Eylül 1921 tarihleri arasında Paris'te art arda düzenlenmiştir. 113 kişinin katılımını gören bu kongre, ırkların mutlak eşitliği üzerinde durmuştur. Önceki kongrede ve konferansta yayınlanan bildiriye ve maddelere ek olarak, "adil ve sahipleri tarafından yönlendirilen bir sistem" kurulmasını öngören birkaç maddelik mutabakat yayımlanmıştır (Padmore, 1960; Wade, 2005; Kuryla, 2020).

Üçüncü Pan-Afrika Kongresi, Kasım-Aralık 1923'te Londra ve Lizbon'da düzenlenmiştir. Bu kongre, 8 maddelik bir mutabakatla sonuçlanmıştır. Bu maddeler, önceki kongrelerde alınan kararların çoğunu güçlendirmeye yöneliktir. Kongre, Afrika'daki sömürgeciliği daha da şiddetle kınamıştır. Ayrıca, daha önceki kongrelerde değinilmeyen Güney Afrika'daki yaşanan aşırı ırkçılığı ve ayrımcılığı (Apartheid) şiddetle kınamıştır (Lara, 2015; Wade, 2005: 47). Pan-Afrikanizm tarihinde üçüncü kongre önemli bir yere sahiptir. Zira burada ilk defa Afrikalılar, kolonyal sistemi eleştirmeye başlamış ve kendilerini yönetecek hükümetleri kurma isteğini dile getirmiştir (Dalar, 2013).

Dördüncü Pan-Afrikanist Kongresi Ağustos 1927'de New York'ta düzenlenmiştir. 13 ülkeyi temsil eden 208 delegeyi bir araya getiren bu kongreye, 5000 dinleyici katılımıyla o tarihe kadar toplanan en büyük olmuştur. Bu kongre esasen bir öncekinin sonuçlarını takip etmek amacıyla yapılmıştır. Aynı zamanda, bu kongre Pan-Afrikanizm ve komünizm arasındaki ilişkiye da odaklanmıştır (Adi, Sherwood, 2013).

II. Dünya Savaşından AfBÖ'nün kuruluşuna: Afrika'nın Kıtasal Bütünleşme Çabaları

Bu dönem, üç nedenden dolayı Afrika Bütünleşme hareketinin gelişiminin dönüm noktasını oluşturmaktadır. Birincisi, Birinci ve İkinci Dünya Savaşları ile birlikte, dünyanın dört bir yanındaki Pan-Afrikanistler, Batılı güçlerin görece kırılmasını ve beyazın ırksal birliğinin gerçek olmadığını ve kurduğu kolonyal sistemin çatlak noktalarını farkına varmışlardır. İkincisi, Pan-Afrikanizm'i yönlendiren liderlerinin entelektüel olgunluğa ulaşmış olmasıdır. Üçüncü neden ise giderek zayıflayan sömürgeci güçlerin koloniler üzerinde tam kontrolü kaybetmesi ve karşılığında yeni güçlerin çıkması, kıtada ve diasporadaki Afrikalılarının mücadele alanlarını iyileştirmiştir (Boumana, 2016, ss. 140-159).

Beşinci Pan-Afrikanizm Kongresi

13-21 Ekim 1945 tarihleri arasında Manchester'da düzenlenen Beşinci Pan-Afrikanist Kongresi, dikkate değer bir kongredir. Zira, Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta ve Hastings Banda gibi daha sonra ülkelerini bağımsızlığa götürecektir kişilerin katılımı ile olmuştur. WEB Du Bois, Afrika kıtası dışındaki bu son kongrenin düzenlenmesinde öncül rol oynamış ve daha sonra Pan-Afrikanizm'in büyük figürü olacak Nkrumah'ın üzerinde büyük etkisi olmuştur (WCML, 2013; Geldich, 2020, s. 33).

Bu kongre, yeni nesil liderlerin ortaya çıkmasına olanak sunarak hareketin ciddi bir şekilde siyasallaşmasına ve etkinleşmesine neden olmuştur. Daha sonra Pan-Afrikanizm'in yeni sembolü olan Nkrumah, harekete yeni bir boyut kazandırmıştır. Onun için bu mücadele sadece elitlerin değil, bütün Afrikalı halkındır. (Hadjor, 2013).

Afrika Birliği Örgütü'nün Kuruluşu

20. yüzyılın son yarısında bağımsızlığını kazamaya başlayan Afrika ülkelerinin bütünleşmesi, hiç kolay olmamıştır. Afrika ülkelerin ulusal ajandalarından çıkıp kıtasal ajandaya odaklanması uzun zaman almış-

tır. Bunun nedenleri ise sömürgeciliğin mirası olan görüş tartışması, kültür ayrışması ve egemenlik tutkusudur. Her ne kadar zor olsa da kıtasal düzeyde birleşmek, Adis Ababa'da AfBÖ'nün kurulmasıyla mümkün olmuştur (Borella, 2018). Ancak, Adis Abada konferansından önce, kıtasal düzeyde bütünleşme konusunu canlandıran iki görüş mevcuttur. Bunlar: Monrovia bloku ve Kazablanka Blokudur.

Esas olarak Nkrumah'ın ideolojileri tarafından yönlendirilen Kazablanka Bloku, yeni bağımsız Afrika devletlerinin acil ve dolaysız bir şekilde siyasi birliğini savunmaktadır. Böylece Afrika devletlerinden oluşan üst, federal ve uluslararası sistemin dinamik bir gücünü teşkil eden bir devletin kurulması mümkün olacaktır. Monrovia bloku ise Afrika'nın birleşmesi konusunda daha muhafazakâr, rasyonel, tedrici ve temkinli bir yaklaşım çağrısında bulunmuştur (Patrick, 2019; Leshoele, 2020, ss. 2-3).

Afrika'da bütünleşme konusundaki yaklaşım tartışması, 1963 yılında Adis Ababa'da bir uzlaşma sonucunda kurulan Afrika Birliği Örgütü ile son bulmuştur. 2002 yılında adının "Afrika Birliği" olarak değiştirilen bu örgütün kurulması, Afrika'nın ekonomik ve politik bütünleşmesine doğru büyük ve anlamsal bir adım olmuştur (Boukari-Yabara, 2019).

Afrika Birliği Örgütü'nün Yapısal Reformu: Afrika Birliği'nin Doğuşu

Afrika Birliği Örgütü, misyonlarını etkinleştirebilmek ve yeni misyonlar edinmek için Eylül 2002'de bir reform yaparak "Afrika Birliği"ne (AfB) dönüşmüştür. AfB, Afrika ülkelerinin potansiyellerini teşvik etmek; ekonomik, sosyal ve siyasal olarak kalkındırmak için daha etkin bir iş birliğine ve sağlam bütünleşmeye odaklanmaktadır. AfB, "kendi vatandaşları tarafından yönetilen, dünya sahnesinde dinamik ve etkin bir güç olmaya iddia eden, entegre, müreffeh ve barışçı bir Afrika" vizyonuyla hareket etmektedir (Guide de l'UA, 2020). AfB'nin 2013 yılında yayınladığı "2063 Ajandası"nın (birliğin ilerleyen 50 yıl vizyonunu taşıyan plan) ana projelerinden biri, kıtanın ekonomik topluluğunu kurmaktır. Bunun için önce kıtayı birleştiren ortak bir pazar kurulacaktır. Aşamalı olarak yürütülen bu proje 2019 yılında AKSTA'nın yürürlüğe girmesi ile son aşamasına gelmiştir.

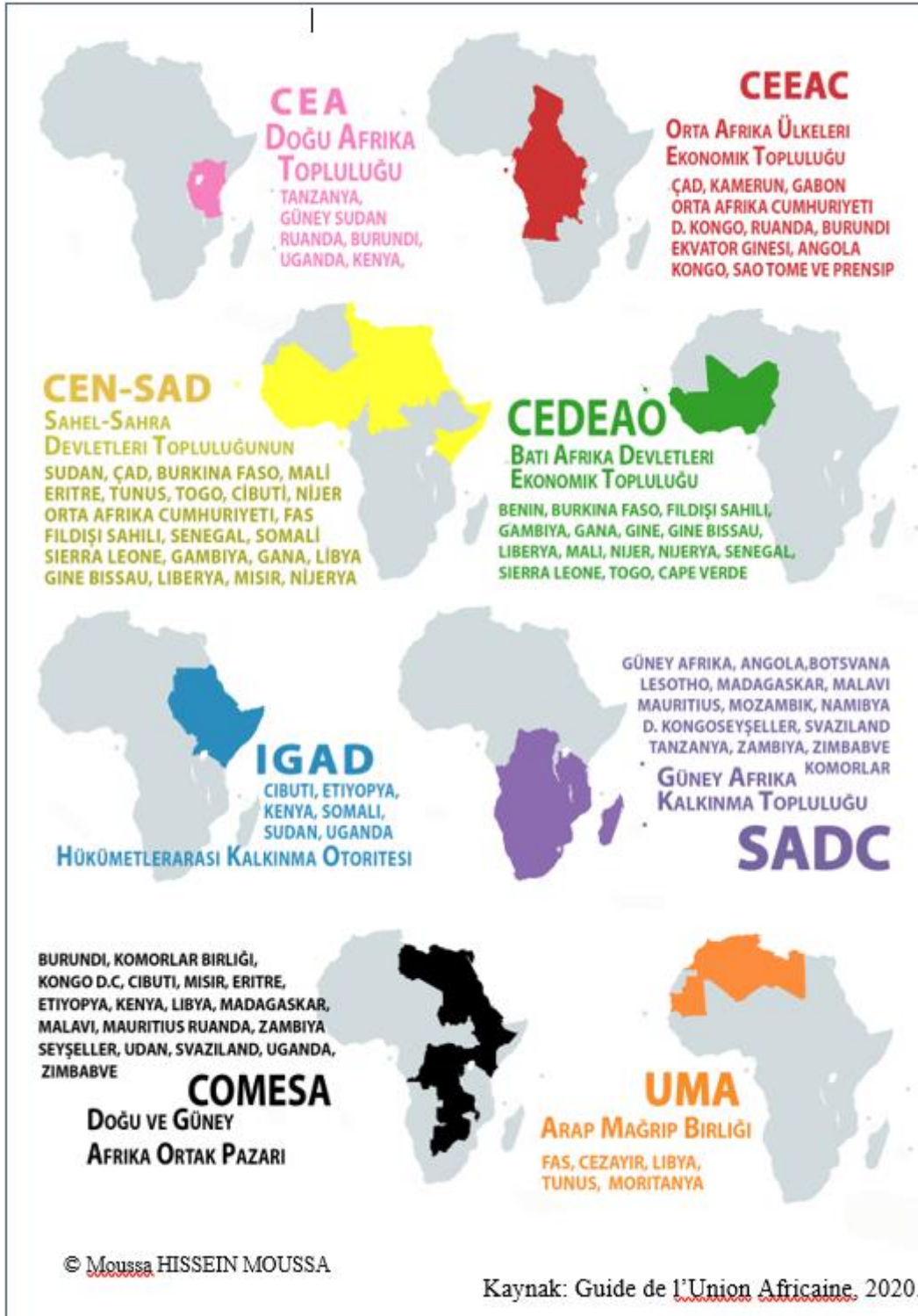
Afrika'yı Ekonomik Bütünleşmeye Götüren Antlaşma: Afrika Kıtasal Serbest Ticaret Antlaşması (AKSTA)

Afrika'da ekonomik bütünleşme hareketleri, Afrika Ekonomik Topluluğu'nu (AET) kuran 1991 Abuja Antlaşması'nın imzalanmasıyla başlamıştır. AET, AfBÖ'nün ayrılmaz bir parçası olarak oluşturulmuş olup Afrika ekonomilerini bütünleştirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Her şeyden önce, Abuja Antlaşması'nın ekonomik bütünleşmenin bir zemini olduğunun vurgulanması gerekmektedir. Bu antlaşmada genel olarak ekonomik topluluğun unsurları olarak kabul edilen gümrük birliği, serbest ticaret bölgesi ve vergi politikaları gibi unsurlar bulunmaktadır. Antlaşma, sadece AfBÖ'nün beş bölgesine karşılık gelen beş Bölgesel Ekonomik Topluluğu'n (BET) (Figür 1) oluşturulmasını öngörse de günümüzde AfB tarafından tanınan sekiz BET bulunmaktadır (Aniche, 2020). Bu süreç, Tablo 1'de özetlenmiştir.

Tablo 1.

Afrika'nın Ekonomik Bütünleşmesinin Yol Haritası

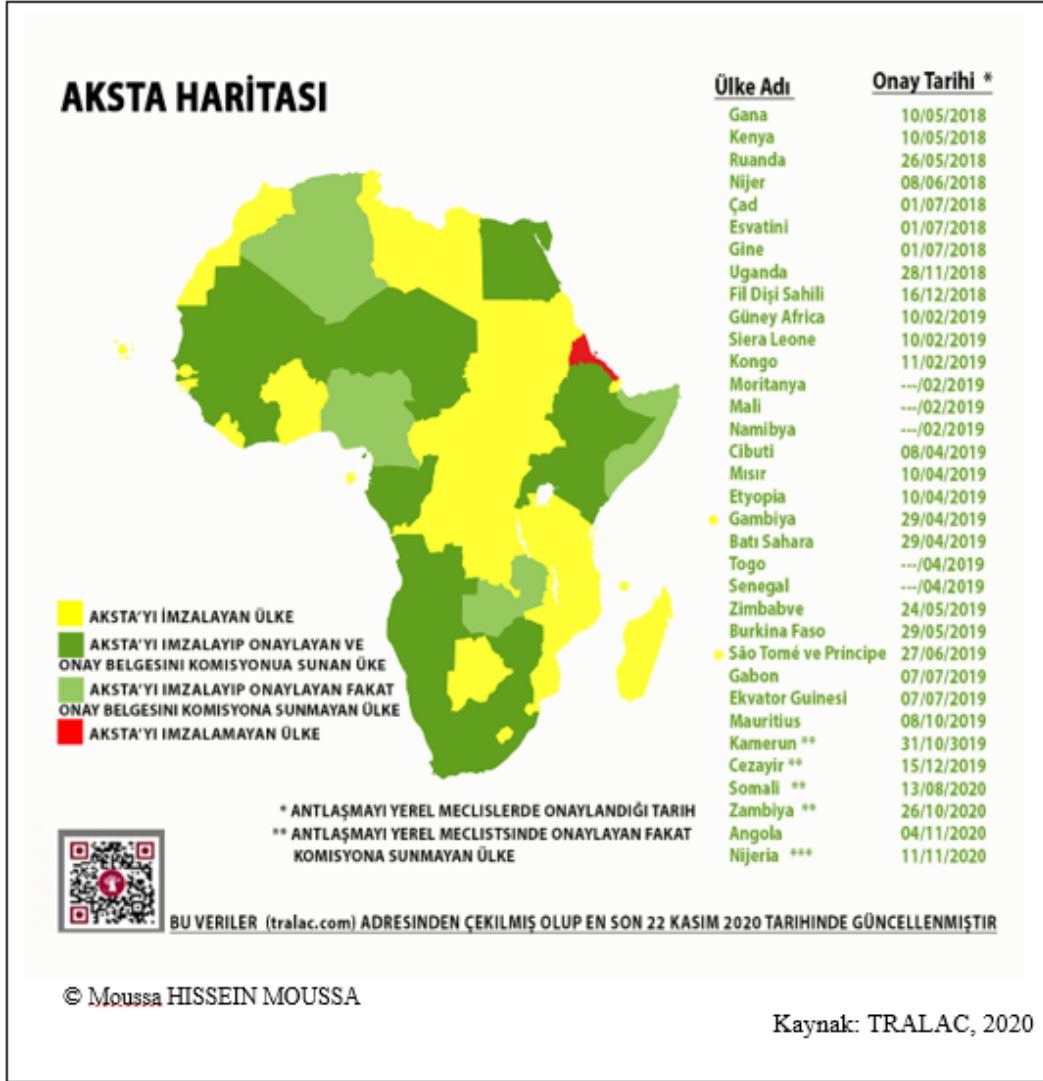
| AŞAMA | YIL | YAPILACAKLAR |
|----------|------|--|
| 1. Aşama | 1999 | Bölgesel Ekonomik Toplulukları güçlendirmek ve olmayan bölgelerde kurmak |
| 2. Aşama | 2007 | BET'lerin Konsolidasyonunu sağlamak, içlerinde bulunan tüm engelleri ortadan kaldırmak ve birbirlerinin arasındaki konsolidasyonu sağlamak |
| 3. Aşama | 2017 | Bütün Bölgesel Ekonomik Topluluklarda serbest ticaret bölgesini ve gümrük birliğini oluşturmak |
| 4. Aşama | 2019 | Bütün Bölgesel Ekonomik Topluluklarının tarife sistemlerini koordine etmek ve ortak gümrük tarifelerini oluşturmak. |
| 5. Aşama | 2023 | Afrika ortak pazarını oluşturmak. |
| 6. Aşama | 2028 | Parasal birlik ve Pan-Afrika Parlamentosu da dahil olmak üzere Afrika Ekonomik Topluluğunu oluşturmak |



Şekil 1. Bölgesel Ekonomik Toplulukların (BET) Haritası

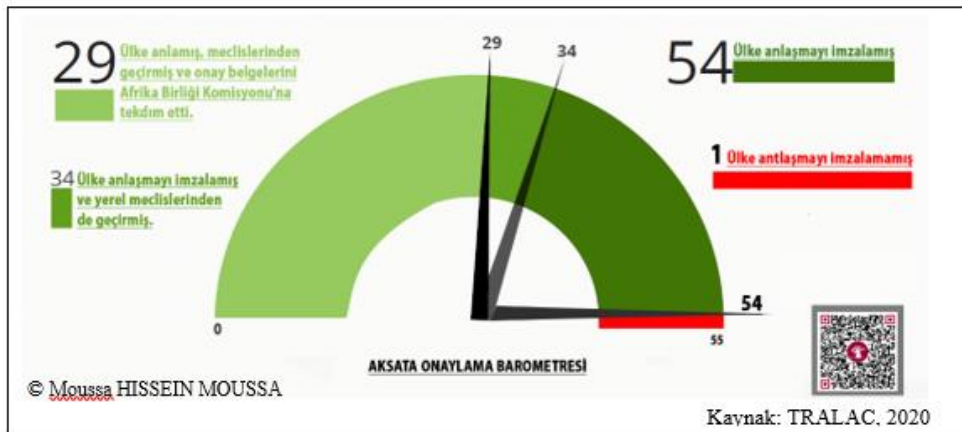
Afrika Birliği'nin ekonomik bütünleşmeye yönelik nice yıllar süren mücadelesi (tablo 1), AKSTA'nın imzalanmasıyla amacına yaklaşmıştır. Söz konusu antlaşma, 30 Mayıs 2019'da yürürlüğe girmiş ve 7 Temmuz 2019'da operasyonel aşamasına geçilmiştir. Ancak antlaşmanın tüm mekanizmalarıyla uygulanması 1 Ocak 2021 tarihinde olacağı beklenmektedir (Figür 2 ve 3'e bakınız) (TRALAC, 2020). Antlaşmanın amacı, kıtada dolaşan ürünlerin %90'ının tarifelerini düşürmek; mal, hizmet ve insanların serbestçe dolaşabilecekleri bir bölge yaratmak ve AET'ye zemin hazırlamaktır (Jeune Afrique, 2019). Bu anlaşma, Afrika Birliği'nin bütün ülkelerini ve BET'lerini tek bir çatı altında birleştirecektir. Böylece,

GSYH'si yaklaşık 2,5 trilyon dolar (BAD, 2019) ve 1,35 milyar tüketici ile (Country Meters, 2020) dünyanın en büyük serbest ticaret bölgesi olacaktır (Union Africaine, 2019).



Şekil 2. AKSTA'nın Haritası

Günümüzde, AKSTA Afrika Birliğine üye 55 devletin 54'ü tarafından imzalanmıştır. Antlaşmayı yerel meclislerinde onaylayan ülke sayısı 34'tür. Ancak 5 ülkenin onay belgelerini birlik komisyonuna takdim etmediği için onaylayan ülkelerin sayısı resmi olarak 29'dur (Figür 3'e bakınız).



Şekil 3. AKSTA'nın Onaylama Barometresi

AKSTA, kıta için büyük vaatler taşımasıyla birlikte, kıtada uzun yıllar süren parçalanma sorunlarına da çözüm olacaktır. Hâlihazırda gümrük tarifесinin üzerinde %5 düşüş gerçekleşse de hassas sektörler için bu tarife yüksek kalmaya devam etmektedir (WBG, 2020). Bu sorunun hâlihazırda izlenen politika neticesinde çözülmesi beklenmektedir. Bununla birlikte kıtanın ekonomik ve ticari sıkıntıları da çözüme kavuşacaktır (tablo 1).

Serbest ticaret bölgesi, bir kıtanın hızlı bir şekilde gelişmesine ve büyük başarılar yakalamasına yardımcı olur; ülkelerin tekel sahibi oldukları mal ve hizmetleri üretmelerine ve uzmanlaşmalarına olanak tanır; üretkenliği ve büyümeyi artırır, bilgi ve teknolojinin yayılmasını sağlayarak yeni ürünlerin tasarımını kolaylaştırır ve yapısal dönüşümü teşvik eder (IMF, 2016). Afrika'da geniş bir serbest ticaret bölgesini oluşturmak, Afrika'nın ekonomik dönüşümünü sağlamak ve potansiyelini değerlendirmek demektir. Bununla birlikte bölge içi ticaretin artması ve daha fazla yabancı yatırımcıların doğrudan gelmesi gibi iki etkinin ortaya çıkacaktır (Adnane, 2018).

Afrika'da kıtasal serbest ticaret bölgesinin oluşturulması, Afrika'nın ekonomik bütünleşmesine giden süreçte önemli bir adım olmuştur. 1994'te yürürlüğe giren ve BET'leri (figür 1) kuran Abuja Antlaşması, bütünleşme sürecini başlatmıştır. BET'lerin oluşturulması ve etkinleşmesi sürecin önemli bir adımı olmuştur. Abuja antlaşmasından bu yana gerek kıtasal ve bölgesel gerekse ulusal düzeyde bütünleşmeye yönelik önemli gelişmeler kaydedilmiştir (BAD, 2019). AKSA, kıta düzeyinde ortak bir pazar oluşturulmasıyla birlikte, ülkelerin ekonomisine de ciddi bir şekilde etki edecektir (Ares vd, 2016).

Tablo 2.

Bölgesel Ekonomik Toplulukların Durumu

| BET | Serbest Ticaret Bölgesi | Gümrük Birliği | Ortak Pazar | Serbest Dolaşım | Parasal birlik |
|---------|-------------------------|----------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| CEA | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | 3/5 | X |
| COMESA | ✓ | X | X | 1 | X |
| CEDEAO | ✓ | ✓ | X | ✓ | X |
| SADC | ✓ | X | X | 14/15 | X |
| CEEAC | ✓ | ✓ | Müzakere sürecinde | 6/11 | ✓ |
| CEN-CAD | X | X | X | Hiçbiri | X |
| IGAD | X | X | X | X | X |
| UMA | X | X | X | 3/5 | X |

Kaynak: Afrika Ekonomik Komisyonu (2020)

Afrika'da serbest ticaret bölgesinin oluşturulmasında BET'ler önemli rol oynamaktadır. Hali hazırda büyük ilerleme kaydeden BET'lerin (tablo 2.) rolü, 2016 yılının Mayıs ayında Afrika Birliği'nin ticaret bakanları tarafından kabul edilen uygulama kılavuzu ilkelerine göre belirlenmiştir. BET'lerin önemini iki alt başlık altında ele almak mümkündür (BAD, 2017).

AKSTA'nın Altyapısı Olarak Abuja Antlaşmasından doğan BET'ler

1994 Abuja Antlaşmasına göre AKSTA, BET'lerin oluşturduğu serbest ticaret bölgelerinden ve bütünleşme programlarından esinlenerek oluşturulacaktır. Bu girişimin amacı, 2017 yılında kıta düzeyinde bir ortak pazar kurmaktır. AfB2017 yılı zirve toplantısında, bu girişimin tablo 1'te belirlenen aşamalara göre olacağına kararlaştırmıştır (UA, BAD, CEA, 2018; Will Agri, 2018).

AKSTA, BET'lerde uygulanan serbest ticaret politikasından ve bütünleşme programlarından istifade edeceği için sıfırdan bir bölge oluşturulmayacağı anlamına gelmektedir. Ancak bölgesel çapta oluşturulan bölgeleri birbirlerine uyumlu hale getirecek ve kıtasal düzeye çekecektir. Belirlenen plan tam anlamıyla uygulandığında, bölgesel serbest ticaret alanları daha geniş ve liberalleştirilmiş bir alanla değiştirilecektir.

AKSTA için belirlenen gümrük vergisi indirimi ve serbestleştirme politikaları uzun vadede tam anlamıyla tamamlandığında, BET'lerin serbest ticaret alanları giderek ortadan kaybolacaktır. BET'lerin hâlihazırda

oluşturdukları bölgelerinin hızla değiştirilmemesi gerektiğinin altına çizik atmak gerekir. Zira bölgelerde izlenen politika, heterojendir. Bu yüzden bir geçiş süreci gereklidir (Commission de l'UA, 2018).

Afrika Kıtasal Serbest Ticaret Antlaşması'nın Etkililiği

Afrika Ekonomik Topluluğu'nu kuran Abuja Antlaşması'nın ilerleme durumuna baktığımızda, pozitif etki yarattığını görebiliriz. Bu ilerlemelerin zirve noktası, yakın tarihte imzalanan AKSTA'dır. Mimarisi iki aşamadan oluşan AKSTA (tablo 3), AfB'nin 2063 Ajandası'nda yer alan ana projelerden biridir.

Tablo 3.

AKSTA'nın Mimarisi.

| AŞAMA | PROTOKOL | AYRINTILARI |
|----------|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. aşama | Mallar ticareti | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gümrük vergilerinin kaldırılması ve ithalatın kısıtlanması; Ticaretin ve transitlerin kolaylaştırılması; Ticari çözümler, yeni şirketlere koruma ve genel istisnalar yaratılması; Ürün standartları konusunda iş birliğine gidilmesi; teknik yardım, kapasite geliştirme ve tarife dışı engellerin kaldırılması; Gümrük yetkilileriyle iş birliği sağlanması. |
| | Hizmetler | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Standartların ve kuralların şeffaflığı; Hizmet sunanların standartlarının ve lisanslarının karşılıklı tanınması; Hizmet sektörlerinin kademeli olarak serbestleşmesi; Dışarıdan serbest bölgeye sunulan hizmetlerin yerel hizmetlerden daha avantajlı muamele görmemesi. Genel istisnalar ve güvenlik istisnaları için hüküm belirlenmesi. |
| | Uyuşmazlıkların giderilmesi | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Belirlenme sürecinde. |
| 2. aşama | Müzakereler | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fikri Mülkiyet Hakları Afrika içi yatırımlar Rekabet politikası |

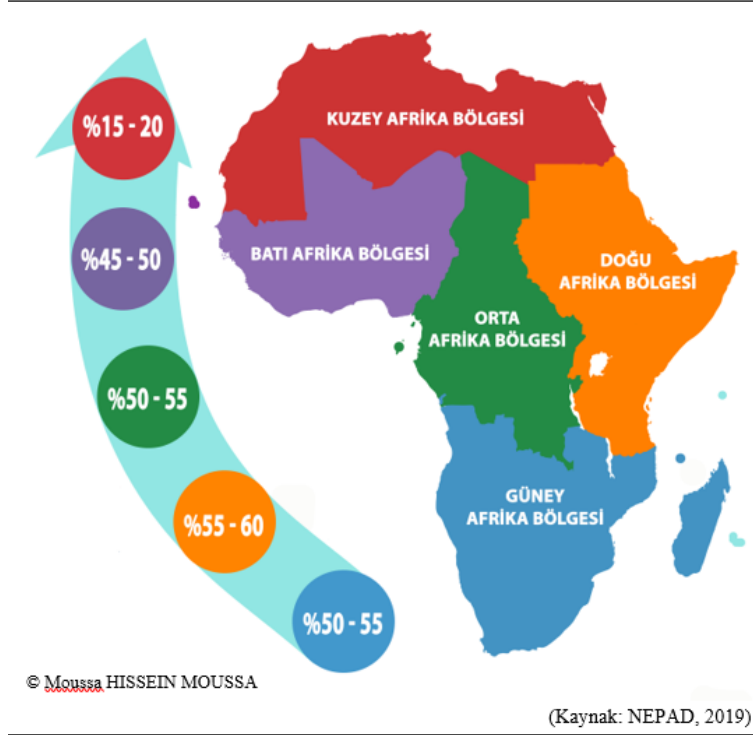
(Kaynak: Union Africaine, 2018)

AKSTA'nın Afrika içi ticareti %15'e kadar arttırması beklenmektedir. Bununla birlikte AKSTA, kıtanın bütün bölgelerinde serbest ticaret bölgesi kurmak ve bu serbest ticaret bölgelerini daha sonra kıta düzeyinde birleştirmek amacındadır (CEA, UA ve BAD, 2017).

African Capacity Building Foundation (2020)'a göre, AKSTA'nın gerek ticaret gerek insanların serbest dolaşması gerekse ekonomilerin üzerindeki etkililiğini birkaç gözlemlerle ölçmek mümkündür. Birinci gözlem ticaret üzerinde olacaktır. Afrika'dan yapılan ihracatların %80'i kıta sınırını aşarken, sadece %12'si kıta içinde yapılmaktadır. Bu veriler kıtasal olarak büyük değişiklikler göstermese de bölgesel düzeyde ilerlemeler kaydedilmiştir. COMESA üyesi Kenya ve CEDEAO üyesi Nijerya gibi ülkeler, daha önce ürünlerinin çoğunu kıta dışına gönderirken şimdi oldukları bölgelere odaklanmaya başlamıştır. İkinci gözlemlerde, ekonomik bütünleşmenin önemli taşları olan "ortak pazar", "serbest ticaret bölgesi", "gümrük birliği", "insanların serbest dolaşımı", "ekonomik topluluk" ve "para birliği" unsurlarının hepsi kıtada görülmektedir. Bunlar: CEEAC parasal birliğini başarıyla tamamlamıştır; CAE ortak pazar oluşturmuştur, CEDEAO gümrük birliğini ve serbest dolaşım bölgesini oluşturmuştur; COMESA serbest ticaret bölgesini oluşturmuştur, SADC kıtanın en entegre bölgesi olmuştur.

AKSTA'nın mallar üzerindeki gümrük vergisini ve kotaları kaldırma yönündeki politikasının çoğu uzman tarafından olumlu bir şekilde ilerlediği söylenmektedir. Bu uzmanlar, AKSTA'nın beklentinin ötesine geçtiğine, liberalleşmenin geleneksel formüllerinden daha iddialı bir yaklaşım olduğuna ve yüksek performanslı bir serbest ticaret bölgesini oluşturabileceğine inanmaktadır (Vigie Afrique, 2019).

AKSTA'nın kıta içi ticaretin üzerindeki etkisini daha iyi görebilmek için alt bölgesel bir analiz yapmak gerekir. Afrika'nın Kalkınması için Yeni Ortaklık (NEPAD) (2020)'e göre, 2063'e kadar bölgesel iç ticaret Figür 4'teki gibi olacaktır.



Figür 4. AKSTA'nın kıta içi Bölgesel Ticaret'in Üzerindeki Etkisi

Geçmiş yıllarda kıtada yaşanan sosyo-politik deneyimlere bakarsak, "Afrika sorunlarına Afrikalı çözümler" mantığından şüphe duyulduğu apaçıktır. *Crisis Grup*'un 2018'de yayımladığı raporuna göre, AfB'nin 2014'ten bu yana, birliğe duyulan güvensizlik ve şüphenin neredeyse tamamı ortadan kalkmıştır. Bunu mümkün kılan şey ise; Madagaskar'da seçim öncesinde yaşanan gerginliklerin sakinleştirilmesinde (Jeune Afrique, 2019), Komor Adaları'ndaki anayasa değişikliğine ilişkin sorunların giderilmesinde (UA, 2020), Orta Afrika Cumhuriyeti sorununun ana aktörlerinin masaya oturtulup barışçıl çözüm yoluna gitmelerinin sağlanmasında (Africa news, 2019; Crisis Grup, 2019) ve Gambiya'da Yaya Djameh'in seçim sonuçları kabullenmemesi durumunda olası bir krizin ortadan kaldırılmasında (CESA, 2017) AfB'nin oynadığı rollerdir. Bu durum, birliğin ve organlarının yeniden güvenilir olduğunu kanıtlamıştır. AfB üyeleri, AKSTA'yı ekonomik ve ticari sorunlarının en ideal çözümü olarak görmektedir (Sjögren, 2015; Malley, 2019).

AKSTA'nın Olanak ve Avantajları

Her şeyden önce, AKSTA'nın sadece ekonomik bütünleşmeye yönelik bir antlaşma olmadığını altını çizilmesi gerekir. Bu antlaşma aynı zamanda insanların, malların, hizmetlerin, işgücünün, bilginin serbest dolaşımını sağlayan; Afrika içi turizmi, Afrika'nın kültürünü ve toplumsal değerlerini, Afrika ülkelerinin birbirlerine yardım etmesini teşvik eden;

CGECI (2020)'e göre, Toplam GSYİH'si 2,5 trilyon doların üzerinde olan 55 Afrika ülkesini bir araya getirmeyi hedef alan AKSTA, kıtayı dünyanın en büyük serbest ticaret alanı yapma yolundadır. Bu antlaşmanın Afrika içi ticareti yaklaşık %16 oranında artıracığı hedeflenmektedir. Bununla birlikte yılda Afrika içi ticaretini %15-25 oranında (35 milyar dolar olacak şekilde) yükselteceği, ithalatı 10 milyar dolar kadar azaltacağı, tarımsal ihracatı %7 ve sanayi ihracatı %5 oranında canlandıracağı beklenmektedir.

AKSTA'ya kıta dışından bir perspektifle bakıldığında, sadece ekonomik boyutlu olmadığı, siyasi, idari ve hukuki, sosyal ve kültürel boyutları da olduğu anlaşılabilir. Antlaşma içerisinde yer alan asimetrikler rağmen, bazı ülkelerin ekonomik sağlığı, kıtasal ekonomi için değer taşımaktadır. Nijerya, Cezayir, Mısır, Güney Afrika, Sudan ve Angola gibi kıtanın toplam GSYİH'sinin yarısından fazlasını teşkil eden ülkelerin ekonomisi, kıtanın kalkınmasında ana etken konumundadır. Gelişmekte olan ülkeler arasında sayılan Güney Afrika ve yaklaşık 200 milyon nüfusa sahip Nijerya, alt bölgesel ekonomileri yukarıya çekebilecek kadar yüksek dinamiğe sahiptir. Afrika İthalat-İhracat Bankası "*Afreximbank*"ın yayınladığı

rakamlara göre, Nijeryalı şirketlerin %69'u, AKSTA ile birlikte iş koşullarının iyileştirileceğine, yerel işletmelerin teşvik edileceğine ve girişimciliğinin büyüyeceğine inanmaktadır. Buna ek olarak ticarete sınırların kalkması ile birlikte doğan rekabet ortamında ürünler daha kaliteli hale gelecektir (Mballa, 2019: 7-9).

BET'ler, AKSTA'nın bölgesel idari zemini konumunda olup Afrika'nın ekonomik bütünleşmesi için elverişli bir faktör niteliğindedir ve ekonomik bütünleşmenin idari altyapısını oluşturmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, çalışma yöntemleri ve liberalleşme politikaları da ön tecrübe olarak değerlendirilecektir. (Signé, Ven, 2019). BET'ler AKSTA için büyük bir fırsattır.

Afrika'nın, ekonomik bütünleşmeye yönelik çabalarını takdir eden ekonomist ve AKSTA uzmanı Dr. Koné Salif, AKSTA'da çeşitli avantajlar görmektedir. Onun için bu antlaşma, Afrika ülkelerine bir "tamamlayıcılık ilkesi" sunacaktır. Salif'e göre, hizmetlerin ve insanların serbest dolaşımı yoluyla ülkeler girişimcilik yolunu keşfetme imkânı bulacaktır. Anlaşmanın sağlayacağı mekanizma yoluyla sınırların kaldırılması, daha az gelişmiş ülkelerin sanayileşme ve üretme konusundaki noksanlarını fark etmeleri ve bunu doldurmalarına imkân sağlanacaktır. Bu durum kıtada bir "dayanışma" ruhu doğuracaktır. AKSTA'nın sağlayacağı bir diğer avantaj ise "tazminat sistemi" dir. Bu sistem az gelişmiş ülkelerin serbest ticaret bölgesi içinde gelişmelerini kolay kılacaktır. Dr. Salif, AKSTA'nın "kurumsal ve hukuki" yapılanmasının Afrika'nın ekonomik bütünleşmesi için büyük bir avantaj oluşturduğunu da düşünmektedir (7 Info, 2017).

Ekonomist Dr. Séraphin Prao, kıtada bir serbest ticaret bölgesinin oluşturulmasının, Afrika ülkelerinin ticaretlerini artırma arzularından doğduğunu düşünmektedir. Ona göre; AKSTA ile birlikte Afrika ülkelerinin Güney-Güney iş birlikleri gelişecektir. Prao, bu sürecin sonunda Afrika ürünlerinin daha rekabetçi hale geleceğini ileri sürmüştür. Onun için AKSTA, AfB'nin 2063 Ajandasında da yer alan ve ekonomik bütünleşmesinin son aşaması olan "parasal birliğin" oluşturulması için büyük kolaylıklar sağlayacaktır (FRI, 2019).

AKSTA'nın Aşması Gereken Zorluklar

Afrika Kalkınma Bankası (AFDB), Afrika'nın serbest ticaret bölgesini oluşturabilmesi için aşması gereken zorlukların başında, ülkelerin "ekonomilerini çeşitlendirmek" ve derin bir "yapısal reform" olduğunu vurgulamıştır. Bu doğrultuda, sanayileşmenin ve altyapının sağlanması elzemdir. Nijerya, Güney Afrika, Etiyopya ve Mağrip ülkeleri gibi birkaç ülke bu konularda biraz ilerleme kaydetmiş olsalar da Orta Afrika Bölgesi gibi neredeyse her şeyin ithal edildiği bölgelerde büyük bir noksan olması, kıta için büyük bir engel oluşturmaktadır (Batongue, 2020).

CEEAC Kalkınma Bankası'nın genel müdürü Acinet George'un 2019'da verdiği bir örnekle açıklayalım. Çad'ın Çin'den yaptığı ithalatlar iki aşamadan geçmektedir. Bunlar: Çin-Kamerun (8703 km) aşaması ve Kamerun-Çad (1587 km) aşamasıdır. İkinci aşamadaki mesafenin birincidekinden daha kısa olmasına rağmen harcanan vakit birinci aşamadakinden 3 kat daha uzundur. Aynı şekilde maliyette de ikinci aşamadaki maliyet birinciden iki kat daha yüksektir (Le Monde, 2019). Bunun nedeni, Kamerun ve Çad arasındaki yolların kötü olması, yolda kontrollerin (gümrük vergi vs.) fazla olması ve ulaştırma araçlarının noksan olmasıdır. Bu durum, AKSTA'nın başarıya ulaşmasında altyapının ne kadar önemli olduğunu kanıtlamaktadır.

Bir diğer örnek ise, Çad'daki petrol rafine şirketlerinden çıkan atıkların Nijerya'daki ayakkabı yapan şirketlere satılıp atıkların ayakkabıya dönüştürüldükten sonra yine Çad'a geri gönderilmesi, kıtadaki sanayileşmenin noksanını ortaya koymaktadır.

AKSTA'yı tek başına fonksiyonel hale getirmek yeterli olmamakla birlikte, taraf devletlerin, anlaşmadan en iyi şekilde yararlanmalarını ve anlaşmanın mantığını kendi iç düzenlerine uyumlaştırmaları gerekmektedir (CEA, DTI, CUA, 2020).

AKSTA'da yer alan iç ve dış tutarsızlıkların netleştirilmesi de göz önünde bulundurması gereken bir husustur. Tarım, hayvancılık, imalat ve sanayi olmak üzere ekonomik kalkınmanın temel değerini oluşturan sektörlerle ilişkin açık ve net kurallar belirlenmesi gerekmektedir. Bununla birlikte, Afrika ülkeleri, Dünya Ticaret Örgütü (WTO) ve benzeri kuruluşlarla bağlayıcı anlaşmalarda bulunup kıtanın bu konulara yönelik politikasından sapmamaları gerekmektedir. Zira bu durum, ülkeler için kıtanın ana gündemini uygulamaları konusunda saplantı oluşturmaktadır (Signé, Ven, 2019).

Bilindiği üzere Afrika'da farklı nedenlerden kaynaklanan gıda ve güvenlik krizleri yaşanmaktadır. Bu krizler, ekonomik bütünleşmeyi ciddi bir şekilde yavaşlatabilir. Nitekim, bazı ülkelerdeki iç çatışmalar, siyasi istikrarsızlık, terörizm ve organize suçlar alt bölgelerdeki bütünleşme sürecinin önünde engel teşkil etmektedir. Bu durumda yalnız ulusal ve bölgesel çözümlere değil, kıtasal çözümlere de ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır (Mekongo, 2019).

Afrikalı liderlerin kıta politikasına yönelik motivasyonlarının yanı sıra, kendi ülkelerindeki şirketlerin koşullarını iyileştirmesi ve desteklemesi de önemlidir. Nitekim, yerel şirketler ve firmalar gerek üretim gerek işgücü ve gerekse ürün kalitesi açısından gelişmemiştir. Bu durumda olan ülkelerin ortak pazara açılmaları yerel üretimlerinin ölümü ile eş anlamlı olacaktır (Rodier, 2017).

Afrika'nın ekonomik bütünleşmesinin AKSTA ile doğru yolda olduğunu söylesek de AfB'nin finansal olarak bağımlı olması bu gidişatı zorlayacaktır. Günümüzde, AfB'nin toplam bütçesinin %60'ının dış partnerlerden gelmesi, halledilmesi gereken bir husustur (Faki, 2019). Bununla birlikte, üye devletlerin katkı payları arasında dengesizlik de birliğin içinde bazı ülkeleri daha avantajlı duruma getirmektedir (Jeune Afrique, 2017). Oysa birlikte eşitlik ilkesi esastır.

Sonuç ve Değerlendirme

14. ile 19 yüzyıl arasında transatlantik ticaretini, 19 ile 20. yüzyıl arasında kolonyalizmi ve 20. ile 21. yüzyıl arasında iç savaşlarını yaşayan Afrika, günümüzde gerek ekonomik gerek politik gerekse sosyal bütünleşme yönünde çok önemli ilerlemeler kaydetmiştir. Bütünleşme yönündeki girişimlerin yavaş olmasına rağmen başarılı bir şekilde ilerlediğini ancak geriye dönüp baktığımızda fark edebiliriz. 2000'lerde Çad ve Sudan arasında ciddi sorunlar yaşanırken, geçen günlerde Sudan'da yaşanan siyasi krizin çözüme kavuşmasında Çad'ın önemli rol oynaması, yıllarca savaşan Etiyopya ile Eritre'nin bugünlerde en iyi ikili ilişki kuran ülkeler olması, nice yıllar düşmanlık besleyen Kongo ile Ruanda'nın bugünlerde ticari sınır tanımaksızın ortak bir pazarda buluşması, kıtadaki gelişmelerin örneği olarak gösterilebilir. Özellikle ekonomik bütünleşme yönüne baktığımızda da kaydedilen önemli ilerlemeleri görebiliriz. Batı Afrika Ülkeleri Ekonomik Topluluğu'nun oluşturduğu serbest dolaşım bölgesi ve gümrük birliği; Doğu Afrika Ülkeleri'nin oluşturduğu ortak pazarı, serbest dolaşım bölgesi ve Orta Afrika Ülkelerinin parasal birliği ve serbest dolaşım bölgesi başarıların arasında sayılabilir. 2019 yılında resmen yürürlüğe giren Afrika Kıtasal Serbest Ticaret Antlaşması, Afrika'da ekonomik bütünleşmeden bahsetmemizi mümkün kılmıştır. Büyük vaatler taşıyan bu antlaşmanın aşması gereken zorluklar olduğunu da bilinmesi gerekir. Bunun üstesinden gelebilmek için herkesin katkı sunması elzemdir. Bu husus, Nijer Devlet Başkanı Mahamadou Issoufou tarafından Kralı Ghézo "delikli kovansa metaforu" ile açıklanmıştır (Sossou, 2019).

Bu çalışmanın bir neticesi olarak AKSTA'nın ekonomik bütünleşmeye giden ana yol olduğu söylenebilir. Bu antlaşmaya *Afro-pessimizm* (Afrika'nın sadece kötü taraflarını göz önünde bulunduran, sürekli negatif eleştiri yapan bir akım) perspektifinden bakıldığında, sadece karşısındaki çeşitli engeller görülebilir. Ancak, *Afro-optimizm* (Afrika'da işlerin iyi tarafını göz önünde bulunduran ve Afrika'nın kalkınabileceğine inanan bir akım) perspektifinden bakıldığında ise, antlaşmanın önemi ve büyüklüğü görülebilir. Bahsi geçen akımlar, Afrika ile ilgili konuları analiz eden birbirine karşıt iki akımdır. Birincisi bardağın boş tarafına bakarken, ikincisi bardağın dolu tarafına bakmaktadır.

AKSTA'nın altında yatan amaç, çok sık tarif edildiği gibi "ekonomik bütünleşmeyi sağlamanın" ötesine geçmektedir. AKSTA aynı zamanda Afrika'nın politik ve sosyo-kültürel bütünleşmesine de atıfta bulunmaktadır. Antlaşmanın önemi, Afrika Birliği Komisyonu Başkanı Moussa Faki Mahamat'ın antlaşmanın yürürlüğe girme töreninin açılışında kurduğu şu cümlelerle vurgulanabilir: "*Bugün bir hayal, eski bir hayal gerçekleşmektedir. Bugün hayata geçireceğimiz Afrika Kıtasal Serbest Ticaret Antlaşması, Afrika gündasının en sembolik projelerinden biridir. Bugün, Kwame Nkrumah, Haile Selassie, Cemal Abdülnasır, Hamani Diori ve diğerleri, "nihayet" diyebilirler. Bugün AfBÖ/AfB'nin kurucu babaları, gurur duyabilirler.*"

19 Kasım 2020 tarihinde Afrika Kalkınma Bankası, AKSTA sekreterliği ile bir protokol imzalayarak antlaşmada öngören hususların sağlanması için 4,8 milyon dolar para desteğinde bulunmuştur. Bu protokol AKSTA'ya verilen önemi açıklamaktadır.

Afrika halkının, Afrika ülkelerinin yöneticilerinin, Afrika Birliği'nin liderlerinin ve özellikle Afrika gençliğinin bütünleşmeye/birleşmeye yönelik isteklerine baktığımızda, kıtada büyük şeyler olacağını anlayabiliriz. Zira bütün Afrika dünyası, Svahili atasözü "*Umuja Ni Nguvu, Utenga Ni Udhaifu*" (Birlikte ayakta dururuz, bölünürsek düşeriz) anlayışını benimsemiş ve ona göre davranmaktadır.

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ÖZ: Kazak sözlü halk edebiyatının çok eski bir türü olup Türkiye'deki atışmanın karşılığıdır. Kazakistan'da özellikle bağımsızlıktan sonra hızlı bir gelişme sürecine girerek toplumun en çok rağbet ettiği kültürel etkinlikler arasında yer alan aytislerde halkı ilgilendiren meseleler, usta âşıklar tarafından seyircilerin gözü önünde daha çok dombıra olmak üzere herhangi bir çalgı aleti eşliğinde doğaçlama şiir halinde dile getirilir. Böylece, çeşitli meseleler en etkili, keskin ve yerinde ifadelerle yetkililere ulaştırıldığından, bu sanatın bir nevi toplumun sesi olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Neredeyse tüm güncel olayların gündeme getirildiği aytislerde çeşitli konular işlenmektedir. Bu konulardan biri de Türklüktür. Diğer Türk halkları gibi Türk kökenli olan Kazaklar, bu gerçeği ancak bağımsızlıktan sonra yüksek sesle söyleyebilecek duruma gelmişlerdir. Kalabalık halk huzurunda icra edildiğinden Türklüğün en yüksek sesle söylendiği sahne, şüphesiz, aytis yarışlarının yapıldığı sahnelerdir. Bu çalışmada internet ortamında görüntülü nüshaları da bulunan Türklüğü konu eden aytisler, performans teorisi yöntemine uygun olarak kişisel, sosyal ve sözel boyutları göz önünde bulundurularak incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Aytis, Kazak, Türklük, atışma

The Topic of Turkishness in Kazakh Aytises

ABSTRACT: Aytis is an ancient genre of Kazakh oral folk literature, and it is the equivalent of the Turkish tradition of "atışma". The genre has progressed rapidly especially after the independence of Kazakhstan and has become one of the most sought-after cultural activities in Kazakh society. Through aytises, the issues related to the public are put into words and performed before an audience as improvised poems by master ashiks using an instrument, mostly a dombira. In this way, various issues are communicated to authorities through the sharpest, most effective and appropriate statements and expressions; therefore, it would be correct to say that the art of aytis is in a way the voice of the society. Aytises cover all kinds of topics and discuss almost all current issues, and one of these topics is Turkishness. Kazakh people are of Turkic origins just like all other Turkic nations; however, they have only been able to say this out loud after gaining their independence. As aytises are performed in front of large public audiences, aytis competitions are without a doubt the biggest platform where Turkishness is expressed the most loudly and openly. In this study, the aytises that focus on Turkishness, of which there are visual examples on the internet, will be examined in accordance with performance theory by taking into consideration their personal, social and linguistic dimensions.

Keywords: Aytis, Kazakh, Turkishness, Poetic Duelling

Giriş

Günümüzde Kazak halkının en çok sevdiği kültürel etkinliklerin başında şüphesiz daima kalabalık seyirci kitlesi önünde gerçekleştirilen aytis¹ yani atışma yarışları gelmektedir. Resmî bayramlarda, yıl dönümlerinde genellikle hükümet tarafından düzenlenen bu etkinliklerde Kazakistan'ın en usta akınları yani âşıkları karşı karşıya gelip dombıra eşliğinde doğaçlama şiirler söyleyerek birbiriyle yarışırlar. Yarış etkinliğinin sonunda kazanan önemli miktarda maddi ödül ya da otomobil verilir. Bu atışmaların halk tarafından çok sevilmesinin nedeni, akınların aytisleri süresince toplumun güncel sorunlarını en keskin ifadelerle dile getirip devlet büyüklerine ulaştırmasıdır. Özellikle bağımsızlıktan sonra hızlı bir gelişme sürecine giren aytis sanatı, eğlenceli olduğu kadar öğretici yönüyle genç yaşlı demeden herkesi cezbetmeyi başarmaktadır.

¹Aytis hakkında daha detaylı bilgi için bkz. Lazzat Urakova, Kazak Halk Edebiyatında Aytis Geleneği ve bu gelenek İçerisinde Jambıl'ın Aytisleri; Lazzat Urakova, "Performans Teorisi'nin Aytislara Uygulanması ve Konısba'yın Şınbolat'la Yaptığı Aytista Söyleyici, Genel Dinleyici, Keşif ve Düzenleme"; Lazzat Urakova, "Kadın Yaşının Büyük Olmasının Kazak Kadın-Erkek Aytislerindeki Şakalaşma Durumuna Etkisi"; Metin Arıkan, "Kazak Sözlü Geleneği"; Naciye Yıldız, Erkingul Molotkızı Soltanayeva "Performans Teorisi Bağlamında Kazakistan Geleneğindeki Kız ile Delikanlı Aytislerinin Değerlendirilmesi"; Nergis Biray "Aytis; Aytis-Tartıs The Centre of "Aytis" And Verbal Dueling Among Kazak Folk Poets".

Siyasi, ekonomik ve kültürel birçok konunun işlendiği aytıslarda, Sovyet döneminde değinilmeyen, değinenlerin de cezalandırıldığı Türklük konusunun da sıkça vurgulandığı görülmektedir. Günümüzde en az lisans mezunu olan milli bilinç sahibi ayıtis sanatçıları tarafından işlenen bu konularla ilgili detaylı değerlendirmeler henüz yapılmamış durumdadır. Farklı aytıslarda bu konunun ne şekilde dile getirildiğine bakalım:

1998'de İkinci Dünya Savaşı Zafer Bayramı vesilesiyle Almatı şehrinde düzenlenmiş olan ayıtis yarışında Amanjol Altay ile Jaken Omarov karşı karşıya gelmiştir. Ayıtısı başlatan Jaken'den sonra aktif söyleyici konumuna geçen Amanjol, şöyle demiştir:

Alaştıñ atqa minse ulandarı, / Alaş'ın ata binen yiğitleri,
Aytılar "Allajarlap!" urandarı. /Söylenir "Allah Yar!" naraları.
Erjürek uldarımen asqaq ár kez / Korkusuz oğullarıyla yüce her zaman
Kümbiri küñge jetken Turan bağı. / Dombıra sesinin güneşe ulaştığı Turan bağı (Altayev, 2014, s. 26).

Görüldüğü üzere burada Amanjol, Alaş'ın yani tüm Kazak halkının yiğitlerini tüm Turan'ın korkusuz oğullarına atıfta bulunarak övmekte, böylelikle Kazakların kökeninin Türk olduğunu vurgulamaktadır. Akın tarafından Kazakların milli müzik aleti olan dombıra vasıtasıyla milliyet vurgusunu yapması da dikkat çekicidir.

2001 yılında Almatı şehrinde düzenlenen ayıtis yarışında Muhamedjan Tazabekov ile Aybek Kaliyev karşı karşıya gelmiştir. Bu ayıtisa Muhamedjan başlamıştır. Muhamedjan'dan sonra aktif söyleyici konumuna geçen Aybek'in halkı ve rakibini selamladığı kısımda şu sözleri söylediğini görmekteyiz:

Ajarı Astananıñ ayğa umtılgan, / Güzelliği Astana'nın aya uzanan,
Tabılğanday bul künde kilti ömirdiñ. / Bulunmuş gibi bugün anahtarı ömrün.
Tübi – türki, tüligi jılqı elimniñ / Kökeni Türk, hayvanı at (olan) halkımın
Küni tuvıp keledi, küli batıp. / Güneşi doğmuş geliyor, külü batıp.
Astananıñ törinde qasqayıp tur, /Astana'nın başköşesinde dimdik duruyor
Kök taşı, köne jırı - Külteginniñ. / Gök taşı, eski destanı Kültegin'in.
Sondıqtan men de alısqa silter ulmın; / Bu yüzden ben de çok şey başaracak oğulum;
Kök türkininñ ruhi elge jetti... / Gök Türk'ün ruhu memlekete ulaştı. (Ayıtis VI, 9-10)

Bu mısralarda bağımsızlıktan sonra Kazakistan'ın yeni başkenti haline gelen Astana şehrine 2001 yılında getirilen Kültigin anıtının kopyasının şehre kattığı ihtişam ve halka yaşattığı gurur konu edilerek Kazakların atalarının Türk olduğunun altı çizilmektedir.

2002 yılında Balkaş şehrinde Kazak kahramanlarından Ağıbay'ın doğumunun 200. yılına ithaf edilen ayıtis yarışında Amanjol Altay ile Abilkayır Sızdıkov birbirinin rakibi olarak sahneye çıkmıştır. Ayıtisa başlayan Amanjol seyircilere şu sözlerle seslenmiştir:

Tonıköktey tolğanıp aqıl aytıp, / Tonyukuk gibi düşünüp akıl verip,
Ketbuğanıñ küyindey şertilippin. / Ketbuga'nın nağmesi gibi çalınmışım.
Ğasırlar soqpağında tağdıırı bar, / Asırlar süren kaderi olan
Armısıñ, tekti urpağı er türiktiñ. / Merhaba, soylu nesli Er Türk'ün.
Ağıbay altı alaştıñ uranı edi, / "Ağıbay" Altı Alaş'ın narası idi
Kök beşti jelden ozğan pırağı edi./ Kökbesti rüzgârı geride bırakan Burak'ı idi.
Han Kene, Ağıbaylar arqasında / Han Kene, Ağıbaylar sayesinde
Bermegen öz namısın Turan eli / Vermemiş öz namusunu Turan eli (Altayev, 2014, ss. 45-46).

Bu mısralarda Amanjol, adı Altı Alaş'ın, yani Tüm Kazakların narası haline gelen Ağıbay bahadır, Kenesarı han gibi kahramanlar sayesinde Turan elinin daha çok uzun asırlar mevcudiyetini koruyacağını ifade ederek Türklerin mekân tuttuğu yerlerin çok iyi bir şekilde muhafaza edilmesinin önemine değinmektedir.

2004 yılında Almatı şehrinde düzenlenen ayıtis yarışında Mels Kosımbayev ile Aybek Kaliyev karşı karşıya gelmiştir. Ayıtısın gelişme kısmında Aybek şöyle demiştir:

Ozğan ğoy Türkimizdiñ birliğı jır, / Geride bırakmış Türkümüzün birliğı destanı,
Şañırağı kök aspan, tündiği kün. / Evi mavi gökyüzü, penceresi güneş (Ayıtis VI, 131).

Bu beyitte Aybek, Türk Birliği'nin evinin gökyüzü, penceresininse güneş olduğunu söyleyerek Türkler için at üstünde, açık havada özgürce göç etmenin önemine değinmektedir.

Yine 2004'te Rusya'nın Moskova şehrinde Kazak Büyükelçiliği tarafından düzenlenen aytıs etkinliğinde Karima Oralova ile karşı karşıya gelen Amanjol Altay aytısın giriş kısmında kendisini şöyle tanıtmaktadır:

Türkiniñ ruhı bar üniñde ökem, / Türk'ün ruhu olan sesinde güçlü,
Dalaniñ perzenti edim jırın tökken. / Bozkırın çocuğuydum şiiirini döken (Altayev, 2014, s. 75).

Aynı aytısın gelişme kısmında Amanjol kendisini seyircilere ve rakibine şu sözlerle tanıtmaya devam etmektedir:

Halıqpen sabaqtasqan murat bağı, / Halkla birleşen muradı, bahtı,
Türkiniñ oğlanı idim qırattağı / Türk'ün oğlu idim tepedeki (Altayev, 2014, s. 78).

Görüldüğü üzere bu iki beyitte Amanjol, şiirlerini güçlü Türk ruhuna sahip sesiyle söyleyen bir Türk'ün oğlu olduğunu ifade ederek kimliğini Türk kökenli olduğu gerçeği üzerinden vurgulamaktadır.

Aynı yıl içinde Almatı şehrinde düzenlenen aytıs yarışında Balgınbek İmaşev ile Rinat Zayıtov rakip olarak sahneye çıkmışlardır. Aytısın gelişme kısmında Balgınbek şöyle demiştir:

Turanniñ tekti jurtı qoldağanda, / Turan'ın soylu halkı desteklerse,
Qıranniñ qanatınday jazılamin. / Kartalın kanadı gibi açılırim (Aytıs VI, 198).

Bu beyitte akın, tüm dünya Türklerinin desteklemesi durumunda büyük işler başaracağını ifade ederek Türklerin birlik olmasının önemi üzerinde durmaktadır.

Kazakistan'ın Jezkazgan şehrinde 2004'te düzenlenmiş olan "Köyüm - Altın Beşiğim" adlı aytıs yarışında Amanjol Altay ile Nazira Madişeva atışmıştır. Aytısa ilk başlayan Amanjol'un aytısın giriş kısmında rakibini selamlarken şu sözleri sarf ettiğine şahit olmaktadır:

...Ordalı Şingıstavdan keldiñ munda / Otağlı Şingıstav'dan geldin buraya
Quşağın meyirlenip Turanğa aşqan. / Kucağını şefkatle Turan'a açan (Altayev, 2014, s. 89)

Burada akın, birbirinin rakibi olmalarına rağmen Türklerin eski yurdu olması nedeniyle Nazira'nın memleketini de överek Turan'ın değerini vurgulamaya çalışmaktadır.

Aynı yıl içinde Almatı'da düzenlenmiş olan aytıs yarışında Amanjol Altay ile Ermek Jumatayev karşı karşıya gelmiştir. Amanjol aytısın gelişme kısmında şöyle demiştir:

Bazarğa barğan sayın üreylenem, / Pazara her gittiğimde tedirgin oluyorum
Küni erten qara qıtay qaptay ma dep. / Yarın Çinliler (ülkemi) kaplar mı diye.
Jılqı baqqan jaylavğa burış egip, / At güttüğümüz yaylaya biber ekip
Qayındı ketpenine saptay ma dep. / Huş ağacını çapasına sap yapar mı diye.
Qara köz qızdarıñdı äyel qılıp, / Kara gözlü kızlarını (kendilerine) eş yapıp,
Türkilik ruhını taptay ma dep. / Türklük ruhunu çiğner mi diye (Altayev, 2014, s. 143).

Bu bentte akının Kazakistan'da yaşayan Çinli sayısının gün geçtikçe artmasının ülkeye, halka, Türklük ruhuna zarar vermesinden duyduğu endişeyi dile getirdiği görülmektedir. Bu sözlerde, Orhun Abidelerinde Çinlilerle ilgili olarak yer alan sözlerin de etkisi açıkça görülmektedir. Aradan geçen neredeyse bir buçuk asra rağmen, endişeler değişmemiş, yok olmamıştır. Amanjol aytısına şu sözlerle devam etmiştir:

Türkiniñ oğlanı edik tavğa şığar, / Türk'ün oğlu idik zirveye ulaşan,
Usaq minez tanıtpas savğa surar. / Korkak davranmayan merhamet dilenip.
Batırlardıñ urpağı emes pe edik, / Kahraman soyundan değil miydik
Jeti jasta nayza ustap javğa şabar. / Yedi yaşında mızrak tutup düşmana saldıran (Altayev, 2014, s. 144).

Görüldüğü gibi, "Kahraman Türk soyundan gelmiyor muyduk biz?"- şeklindeki retorik soruyu seyircilere yönelten Amanjol, daima cesur davranmak gerektiğinin altını çizmektedir. Bilindiği üzere Türk destanlarında kahraman daha küçük yaşlarda kılıç kuşanır, ok atar, düşmanı alt eder... Akın, bu özelliği kendisinin soyu ile ilişkilendirmektedir.

Aytısın devamında Amanjol Altay'ın şöyle dediği görülür:

Köterdik ana tildi uran qılıp / Yücelttik ana dilini uran yapıp
Tizesin körgen emes Turan bügip / Diz çöktüğü görülmemiş Turan'ın (Altayev, 2014, s. 150)

Burada Amanjol, Sovyet döneminde yürütülen Ruslaştırma siyaseti sonucunda çok zarar gören Kazak dilinin yeniden canlandırıldığını belirterek Türklerin diz çöktüğünün görülmemiş bir şey olduğunu bir kez daha vurgulamış bulunmaktadır. Bu mısralarda aidiyet duygusunun dışında, ait olduğu milletin geçmişinden gurur duyma söz konusudur. Ayrıca akın, milli dilini kaybeden nesillerin ruhunu kaybedeceği bilincini de taşımaktadır.

Rakibi Ermek Jumatayev'den sonra tekrar aktif söyleyici konumuna geçen Amanjol, sözlerine şu şekilde devam etmiştir:

Tuvrasın ayta bilsem tilip turıp, / Doğrusunu diyebilsem keskin biçimde,
Jibermes uvaqıt onı umıttırıp. / Bırakmaz vakit onu unutturup.
Kök bürülü Türk'ün nesliyiz, / Gökbürülü Türk'ün nesliyiz
Kerilgen ay astında ulıp turıp./ Gerinen ayın altında uluyup (Altayev, 2014, s. 158).

Bu dörtlükte akın, aslen kim olduğunu zamanın unutturamayacağını, ayın altında uluyan Gökbürülü Türk soyundan olduğunu ifade etmektedir. Başka bir ifadeyle millî bir sembol olarak kullanılan Gökbörü, bu akının da aidiyetine çağrışım yapmaktadır. Bilindiği üzere Oğuz Kağan, Bozkurt ve Ergenekon destanlarında gökbörü yol gösterici milli bir semboldür. Akının bu sözlerinden onun milli destanlar konusunda bilgi sahibi olduğu ve Türklük kimliğini vurgulamak üzere bu imgeleri kullandığı anlaşılmaktadır.

2004 yılında Almatı şehrinde düzenlenmiş aytıs yarışında Amanjol Altay ile Muhtar Kuandıkov atışmıştır. Aytısın gelişme kısmında Muhtar şu sözleri sarf etmiştir:

Şejireli Şiyelim, / Şecereli Şiyelim,
Janımdan seni süyemin. / Canımdan seni seviyorum.
“Mıñ bir tün”di avdarğan / “Binbir Gece”yi çeviren
Qalmaqañğa da iyemin. / Kalmakan'a da sahibim.
Türkiniñ alıp kösemi – / Türk'ün alp önderi -
Mustafağa da iyemin. / Mustafa'ya da sahibim (Altayev, 2014, s. 167).

Görüldüğü üzere burada Muhtar, Kızılorda iline bağlı bir şehir olan Şiyeli'ye olan sevgisinden söz ederken, söz konusu yerleşim biriminin ne kadar köklü bir geçmişe sahip olduğunu “Binbir Gece Masalları”nı Kazakça'ya çevirerek Kazakça'nın gelişimine büyük katkıda bulunan Kalmakan Abdikadirov'un (1903-1964) da, cesur Türk önderi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün de kendisine ait olduğunu belirterek ifade etmiştir. Başka bir deyişle, bu bentte Muhtar, Kazakların Türk kökenli olduğunu vurgulamıştır.

Muhtar'dan sonra aktif söyleyici konumuna geçen Amanjol, Kazakistan'da bulunan uzay istasyonundan ve uzaya çıkan ilk Kazak asıllı astronot Toktar Aubakirov'dan söz ederken şöyle demiştir:

Sayasatpen sapırıp är isterdi, / Siyasete karıştıran tüm işleri,
Dalamdı jaynatam dep oris keldi./Bozkırımı geliştirim diye Rus geldi.
Kemeleri uşsa da Bayqonırdan, / Gemileri uçsa da Baykonur'dan,
Jalgız Mäskev qırıvar tabıs kördi. / Sadece Moskova devasa gelir elde etti.
Jer bizden, uşatıñın er özinen, / Yer bizden, uçacak er kendinden,
Qazaq ulı ğarıştan qalıs keldi. / Kazak oğlu uzaydan geri kaldı.
Toqsanıñşı jıldardıñ tañı atqanda, / Doksanıncı yılların tañı ağırdığında,
Toqtarday bir ul şıqtı barıs beldi. / Toktar gibi oğul çıktı pars (kadar) güçlü
Bar qazaq abroyıñdı ayğa asır dep, / Tüm Kazakların itibarı ayı aşsın diye,
Ultımınñ kökiregin namıs kördi. / Ulusumun göğsünü kabartmayı namus bildi.
Bağalay almay jürmiz biraq qazır /Kıymet vermiyoruz fakat şimdi
Türkiden tunğış şıqqan ğarışkerdi / Türk'ten ilk çıkan astronota (Altayev, 2014, s. 168).

Bu bentte Amanjol, Baykonur uzay istasyonunun Kazak topraklarında olmasına rağmen uzaya hep Rusların uçtuğunu, sadece bağımsızlıktan sonra Toktar Aubakirov adlı Kazak asıllı astronotun uçabildiğini belirtmenin yanı sıra, uzaya uçan ilk Türk astronot olmasına rağmen Toktar'a yeterince değerin verilmeyeceğini dile getirmektedir. Akının bu sözlerindeki mesajı alması gereken ise sadece Kazaklar değil, bütün Türk soylu halklardır.

2004 yılında Almatı'da düzenlenmiş aytıs yarışında Aybek Kaliyev ile Amanjol Altay birbirinin rakibi olarak sahneye çıkmıştır. Aytısı ilk başlatan Amanjol'un halkı selamlarken sarf ettiği şu sözlere şahit olmaktadır:

Er türkiniñ butağı – babam qazaq, / Er Türk'ün dalıdır atam Kazak,
At üstinde ötkizgen arda jasın. / At üstünde geçiren gençliğini.
Er Tarğınday er bolsın degen anam, / Er Targın gibi er olsun, diyen anam,
Halqın oylap süyegen talğa basın. / Halkını düşünüp yaslamış ağaca başını.
Ġalamnan ğadiletti jol izdegen, / Ġlemde adaletli yol arayan,
Armısıñ, qalıñ elim, arlı Alaşım! / Merhaba, kalabalık halkım, arlı Alaşım! (Altayev, 2014, s. 186)

Görüldüğü üzere burada Alaş'a, yani Kazaklara seslenen Amanjol, Kazaklar'ın kökeninin Türk olduğunu ifade etmektedir. Akının benzetmesinde Türklük bir ulu ağaç, her bir Türk boyu gibi Kazaklar da bu ağacın bir dalıdır.

2011 yılında Bağımsızlığın 20. Yılı vesilesiyle Astana şehrinde düzenlenmiş olan aytıs yarışında Amanjol Altay ile Asem Erejekızı atışmıştır. Aytısı Amanjol'un şu mısralarla başladığını görmekteyiz:

Ultımız tarih sırn bugün uqtı, / Ulusumuz tarihin sırrını bugün kavradı,
Köşpeli eldiñ kötergen jügi quttı./ Göçebe halkın kaldırdığı yükü kutlu.
Altın savıt kiyinip, atqa mingen / Altın zırh giyinip ata binen
Türkiniñ Saq deytuğın tübi mıqtı./ Türk'ün Sak adlı ataları güçlü.
...Ġlemge ämir aytqan Külteginen / Ġleme emir veren Kültegin'den
Ġalamzat türki ruhın uğınıptı./ Tüm dünya Türk ruhunu öğrendi (Altayev, 2014, s. 241).

Bu mısralarda da Amanjol, Kazakların atalarından, Türk ruhundan, Türk'ün atası dediği Sakalardan söz ederek Türklüğü ile övünmektedir. Bu sözlerde adeta Kazak tarihinin tarihî gerçekler bağlamında yeniden yazılışı olmasa da dile getirilişine tanık olmaktadır. Sovyet Döneminde dile getirilmeyen gerçek tarih, Amanjol gibi bilinçli akınlar tarafından bu aytıs lar vasıtasıyla halka yeniden yansıtılmaktadır. Kazak topraklarında çıkan "altın elbiseli adam" imgesine de gönderme yapan akın, ait olduğu halkın medeniyetiyle de gurur duymaktadır.

Aynı etkinlikte Amanjol Altay ile Sara Toktamısova da birbiriyle atışmıştır. Aytısı ilk başlayan Sara'dan sonra aktif söyleyici konumuna geçen Amanjol şöyle demiştir:

Saq pen Ġun, Türki jurtı tegim edi, / Saka ile Hun, Türk yurdu soyum idi,
Tävelsiz Qazaq degen elim edi. / Bağımsız Kazak denen ülkem idi.
Aytısıñ sar daladay sahnası / Aytısın geniş bozkır sahnesi
Halqımmen qavışatın jerim edi./ Halkıma kavuştuğum yerim idi. (Altayev, 2014, s. 256)

Burada akın, Türk soylu olduğunu haykırabildiği aytıs sahnesini, halka kavuşturan sahne şeklinde nitelendirerek bağımsızlık ve Türklük arasındaki bağı vurgulamış bulunmakta ve daha önceki dönemde dile getirilemeyen bu düşüncelerin aytıs sahnesinde dile getirilmesiyle millî kimliğe de kavuşulduğunu ifade etmektedir.

Aytısın gelişme kısmında ise Amanjol'un dileklerini şu şekilde sıraladığına şahit olmaktadır:

Türkiniñ jurtı birigip, / Türk halkları birleşip
Biri etek, biri jen bolsın! / Biri etek, biri yen olsun! (Altayev, 2014, s. 263)

Görüldüğü üzere bu beyitte Amanjol dünyadaki tüm Türk halklarının bir daha ayrılmamak üzere birleşmelerini dilemektedir. Ona göre bir elbise yensiz ya da eteksiz olmayacağı gibi, Türk halklarının birinin eksikliği ile birliğin oluşmayacağı da kesindir.

Amanjol'dan sonra aktif söyleyici konumuna geçen Sara şöyle demiştir:

Mekendep Sarıarqaday maqpal beldi, / Mekân edininip Sarıarka gibi kadife dağlık yeri,
Kümbirlep kün astında saqtar jeldi. / Gürleyip güneş altında Sakalar at koşturdu.
Keşegi ğunnan şıqqan Edil babam / Dünkü Hun'dan çıkan Atilla atam
Şeqarasız bilegen şapqan jerdı. / Hudutsuz yönetmiş istila ettiği yeri.
Türkiniñ tuvın ustap Külteginler / Türk'ün tuğunu tutup Külteginler
Euraziya qurlığına qaqqan belgi. / Euraziya adasına çakmış işaret.
Mısırdıñ mısın basıp turğan joq pa / Mısır'ın ihtişamıyla yarışmıyor mu

Eske alsañ Beybarıstar jatqan jerdi. / Hatırlasan Baybars'ın yattığı yeri (Altayev, 2014, s. 267).

Bu bentte Sara'nın Sakalardan, Hunlardan, Göktürklerden, Sultan Baybars'tan genel olarak Türk tarihinden övgüyle, gururla söz ettiğine şahit olmaktayız. Öte yandan, Türk olmasıyla gururlandığımız halde edebiyatımızda çok da fazla işlenmeyen Atilla Han konusunda da kadın akının bilinçli olduğunu söylemek mümkündür.

2014 yılında Janibek Berdavletuli'nin doğumunun 300. yılı dolayısıyla Astana şehrinde düzenlenen ayıtta Aybek Kaliyev ile Erkebulan Kaynazarov birbirinin rakibi olarak sahneye çıkmıştır. Ayıtın gelişme bölümünde Erkebulan şöyle demiştir:

Tegimdi meniñ surasañ, / Soyumu benim sorsan,
Tarihın tasqa jazdırgan / Tarihini taşa yazdıran
Tamırı tereñ türki edi. / Kökü derin Türk idi (Ayıt VI, 365).

Bu mısralarda da diğerleri gibi, akının gururla Türklüğünü haykırdığına şahit olmaktayız. Bilindiği gibi Kazaklarda yedi göbek soyunu bilmek önemlidir. Akının "soyumu sorsan" sözü bu şecere geleneğine atıfta bulunurken soy ağacını Türklüğe bağlaması, Sovyet Döneminden sonra uyanan Türklük şuurunun açık ifadesidir.

Sonuç

Sonuç olarak, bağımsızlıktan sonra Kazakistan'ın Amanjol Altay, Aybek Kaliyev, Sara Toktamisova, Asem Erejekızı, Erkebulan Kaynazarov, Muhamedjan Tazabekov, Mels Kosımbayev, Balgınbek İmaşev, Muhtar Kuandıkov gibi meşhur oldukları kadar halk tarafından çok sevilen, çok sayıda ödüle layık görülen ayıt sanatçıları tarafından yapılan ayıtlarda Kazakların Türk soylu oluşu vurgulanmakta, Sakalar ve Hunlardan başlayarak, Göktürklerle Karahanlılar devletine kadar Türk tarihinden, Atilla, Baybars, Kültigin, Tonyukuk gibi büyük Türk hükümdarlarından, kahramanlarından övgüyle söz edilmektedir. Çok sevilen bu sanatçıların düşünceleri halk arasında da yankı bulmakta, Sovyet Döneminde kökü unutturulup sadece Sovyet bazen de sadece Kazak kimliği ön plana çıkartılan halk, kökleri üzerinde düşünmekte; bütün Türk boylarıyla birlik ve beraberlik ruhu oluşmaktadır.

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XXI. YÜZYILDA AFRİKA BOYNUZU'NUN ULUSLARARASI POLİTİKADA ÖNEMİ

ARAŞTIRMA MAKALESI

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ÖZ: XXI. yüzyılın başından itibaren Afrika Boynuzu bölgesi sahip olduğu jeopolitik, stratejik ve ekonomik öneminden dolayı bölgesel ve uluslararası güçlerin dış politika ürettikleri ve aktif rol oynadıkları bir alan olmuştur. Çünkü Afrika Boynuzu bir yandan Babülmendep Boğazı'na bakarken diğer yandan zengin enerji kaynaklarına sahip olan Arap yarımadasına nazırdır. Ayrıca bölgede Afrika kıtasının geneli gibi azımsanmayacak miktarda doğal kaynaklar da bulunmaktadır. Bu özellikler onu uluslararası güçler nezdinde önemli bir alan haline getirmektedir. Dolayısıyla Afrika Boynuzu'nun uluslararası politikada gözetilen tüm standartlar açısından kritik önemde bir yer olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Bahsi geçen coğrafyada XXI. yüzyılın başından itibaren bölgesel ve uluslararası oyuncular arasında şiddetli bir çatışma hali mevcuttur. Bu çalışmada Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemde Afrika Boynuzu'nun jeopolitik önemine değinilerek uluslararası politikadaki yeri belirtilecektir. Ayrıca jeo-stratejik, askerî, siyasî ve ekonomik değeri üzerinden küresel sahada etkin bir nokta olması irdelenecektir. Bölgede bulunan uluslararası unsurlara dair örnekler sunulacaktır. Sonuç olarak ise uluslararası arenada stratejik öneme sahip olan Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki uluslararası ve bölgesel rekabetin geleceğine ilişkin senaryoları tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Afrika Boynuzu, Jeopolitik, Uluslararası Politika, Uluslararası Rekabet

The Importance Of African Horn In International Policy In The 21st Century

ABSTRACT: With the end of the Cold War and the beginning of the 21st century, the Horn of Africa due to its importance, became a strategic area for international and regional powers. This importance is certainly linked to the Bab el-Mandeb strait which overlooks the Horn of Africa and which is also considered to be one of the most important straits in the world in terms of security and international trade. Without forgetting that this strategic area opens onto the Arabian Peninsula with rich energy resources. This makes the Horn of Africa an area of great wealth and resources, just like the entire continent, and as such justifies the attractiveness of the major powers. All these parameters make the Horn of Africa a critical theater in terms of all standards observed in international politics. It has been a high-tone conflict area between international and regional powers both yesterday and today. Therefore, drawing on the concept of geopolitics, this study discusses the geopolitical importance of the Horn of Africa in the 21st century in correlation with its geographical dimension. This picture also brings together the traditional players operating in the region and new ones that have only recently joined. At the end, this research discusses the future scenarios on regional and international competitions in such a strategic African area with regard to the international system variables.

Keywords: Horn of Africa, Geopolitics, International Politics, International Competition.

Giriş

Afrika Boynuzu gerek siyasî gerek askerî ve ekonomik standartlar bakımından önemli stratejik bir konuma sahiptir. Coğrafi açıdan değerlendirildiğinde Afrika ve Asya'yı birleştirdiği görülmektedir. Kızıldeniz ve Hint Okyanusu Afrika Boynuzu sınırlarında buluşmaktadır. Ayrıca dünya ticaretinde başat bir rol üstlenen sayılı boğazlardan olan Babülmendep Boğazı'na nazır olmakla birlikte zengin enerji kaynakları olan Arap yarımadasına komşudur. Bu nedenlerle bölgedeki sömürge güçleri olan İngiltere, Fransa ve İtalya'nın yanı sıra ABD, Rusya, Çin, Türkiye, Hindistan, İran, Suudi Arabistan ve diğer güçler de bu stratejik bölgede kalmayı planlıyorlar. Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki bölgesel veya uluslararası güçleri arasında çatışma ve rekabetle ilgili olarak sorulması gereken bazı sorular şu şekilde değendirilebilmektedir:

Afrika Boynuzu, siyasî denklemde gerçekten önemli bir unsur mudur? Öyleyse ona bu vasfı veren özellikler nelerdir ve bölgedeki mevcut uluslararası güçler nelerdir? Bunun ışığında küresel ve bölgesel etkilerin Afrika Boynuzu'na yansımaları ne ölçüdedir? Öte yandan dünya sistemindeki değişimler bağlamında yakın geleceğe dair bölgesel ve uluslararası çatışma senaryoları nelerdir?

Elbette bu çalışma, Afrika Boynuzu'nun XXI. yüzyılın uluslararası siyasetindeki önemine atıfta bulunarak tüm bu sorulara cevap vermeye çalışacaktır.

Afrika Boynuzu'nun Tanımlanması

Afrika Boynuzu'nun uzun tarihî boyunca bilinen isimlerinden Punt Ülkesi, Kuş Krallığı, Aksum Krallığı, Habeşistan, Biladussudan ve nihayetinde "Afrika Boynuzu" kavramı ortaya çıkmıştır. Afrika Boynuzu terimi, bölgenin gergedan boynuzu şeklini andıran coğrafi şeklinden kaynaklanmaktadır (Abdul-Rāzzaq, t.y., s. 366). Coğrafi konum olarak Afrika Boynuzu, Hint Okyanusu tarafından güneye sınırlanan Afrika kıyılarının Babülmendep Boğazı'nda bir Doğu Afrika Arap Yarımadası ve kuzeyde Kızıldeniz kıyılarında boynuz şekline benzeyen bölgedir (Woodward, 2013:10). Arapça ansiklopedisinde Afrika Boynuzu, Afrika Kıtası'nın doğu kısmından Aden Körfezi'nin doğusuna doğru uzanan bir gergedan boynuzu şeklinde yükselen bir bölge olarak tanımlanır (Abdul Razzaq, t.y:366).



Şekil: Afrika Boynuzu'nun Coğrafi Konumu (Library of Congress)

Politik anlamı açısından bakıldığında ise Afrika Boynuzu kavramı, uluslararası paydaşlara göre daraltılmış veya genişletilmiştir. Bu nedenle, Afrika Boynuzu kavramını ve bölgelerini tanımlamak biraz karmaşık hâle gelmiştir. Bazıları Afrika Boynuzu bölgesinin dört ülkeden oluşan bir bölge olduğunu öne sürmektedir. Bunlar; Somali, Cibuti, Etiyopya ve Eritre şeklinde sıralanabilmektedir. Başka bir görüşe göre de Afrika Boynuzu altı ülke olan Somali, Cibuti, Etiyopya, Eritre, Sudan ve Kenya'dan oluşmaktadır (Fatehu Rahman, 2012:165). Genel olarak ise Afrika Boynuzu; Somali, Cibuti, Etiyopya, Eritre, Sudan, Güney Sudan, Kenya ve Uganda ile birlikte sekiz ülkeyi kapsayan bir bölgedir (David, 2000:2). Buna dayanarak Afrika Boynuzu, geniş anlamda çeşitli müdahaleler ve etkilerle birlikte, bir bütün olarak Doğu Afrika ve Büyük Göllerin bir bölümünü kapsamaktadır. Böylece Afrika Boynuzu kuzeyden Kızıldeniz, kuzeydoğudan Aden Körfezi, doğudan Hint Okyanusu, güneyden Kenya, batı ve kuzeybatıdan Sudan Cumhuriyeti ile sınırlanmış bir bölgedir (Paul B., 1991:12). Stratejik anlamıyla son dönemde ise, Büyük Afrika Boynuzu (*The Greater Horn*) (Woodward, 2006:1) şeklinde adlandırılmaktadır.



Şekil 2. Afrika Boynuzu Ülkeleri (Mekonnen, 2019, s. 6)

Tarihî açıdan XIX. yüzyılın sonlarında ve XX. yüzyılın başlarında, Etiyopya dışında bütün Kıta sömürgeleştirilmiştir. Afrika Boynuzu da İngiltere, Fransa ve İtalya gibi birden fazla aktörün aktif rol oynadığı bir bölge haline gelmiştir. II. Dünya Savaşı sonrasında başlayan sömürgelerin bağımsızlıklarını kazanmaları (veya bağımsızlıklarının verilmesi) ile bölgedeki ülkeler farklı tarihlerde bağımsız olmuşlardır. Bu tarihler şu şekilde sıralanabilmektedir. 1956'da Sudan, 1960'da Somali, 1962'de Uganda, 1963'te Kenya ve 1977'de bölgedeki son bağımsızlığını kazanan Cibuti olmuştur. Bunun yanı sıra, 1993'te Eritre Etiyopya'dan ayrılırken 2011'de ise Güney Sudan, Sudan'dan ayrılmıştır.

Afrika Boynuzu'nda coğrafi açıdan en büyük ülke Sudan en küçük ülke ise Cibuti'dir. Cibuti sadece 23.200 km² alana sahip bir ülkedir (Encyclopedie). Bu devlet, kendisini Arap Yarımadası'ndan ayıran Babülmendep Boğazı'nın batı kıyısında yer almakta olup stratejik bir konuma sahiptir. Aynı zamanda hem Afrika Boynuzu ülkeleri içindeki hem de Afrika kıtasındaki en küçük ülkelerden biridir.

Bölge demografik açıdan değerlendirildiğinde genel bir ifadeyle güçlü bir ulus kimliğinin varlık gösterdiği bir devlete sahip görünmemektedir. Her ülkede çok sayıda kabile bulunmaktadır. Aynı zamanda bölgenin bazı ülkelerinde ortak kabileler de bulunmaktadır.

Aynı bağlamda bölgedeki dinî yapısı ve etkisine gelince, aslında dinin toplumların kültürü üzerindeki rolünün göz ardı edilemeyeceği kabülünden hareketle bölge dinî açıdan incelendiğinde bölgede İslamiyetin ve Hıristiyanlığın yoğun şekilde benimsendiği fark edilmektedir. Ayrıca bölgede Yahudilik ve animizmin etkin olan diğer din ve inanç sistemleri olduğu belirtilebilmektedir. Din toplumların ekonomik, sosyal ve politik yaşamını etkilemesiyle devletlerin kimlikleri üzerinde de önemli bir etkiye sahiptir. Bu açıdan modern devletin kimliğine bakıldığında bu devletin kimliğinin temeli hem etnik hem de dine dayalı olabilmektedir. Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki dinî kimliğin tanımlanması ve bu dinî kimliğin kamusal yaşam alanlarına etkisinin nasıl olduğu hakkında değerlendirmelerin yapılmasının gerekliliği hissedilmektedir. Neticede bölge nüfusunun çoğunluğunun benimsediği dinler olduğu için Hristiyanlık ve Müslümanlığa odaklanılacaktır. Diğer taraftan bu iki dine inananların oranı devletten devlete değişmektedir.

Bölgede en yaygın benimsenen din İslam'dır. Sudan, Somali, Cibuti, Etiyopya ve Eritre'de Müslüman halk çoğunluktadır. Ancak bu çoğunluk sayılan ülkeler arasında oransal farklılıklar göstermektedir. Buna karşılık, Güney Sudan, Uganda ve Kenya'da Müslümanlar azınlıktadır (Abu Khalil, 2003:23,154).

Diğer taraftan, Hristiyan dinî öncelikle Etiyopya ve Eritre'de yoğunlaşmıştır. Hristiyanlık bölgeye M.S. I. yüzyıldan itibaren girmeye başlamıştır. IV. yüzyılda Aksum Kralı Ezana, Hristiyanlığa inanmaya başlamış ve devletin resmî dinî Hristiyanlık olmuştur (David W., 2012:95). Böylece Afrika'daki Ortodoks Kilisesi'nin en eski ve en önemli merkezlerinden biri hâline gelmiştir. Bu yüzden Hristiyanlık Etiyopya ve Eritre'de uzun yıllar boyunca varlık göstermiştir. Böylelikle, siyasal iktidar Hristiyan ailelerin ellerinde devam etmiştir. Şu anki Etiyopya Başbakanı Abiy Ahmed, ülke tarihinde en yüksek siyasî göreve ulaşan ilk Müslüman kökenli Başbakanı olmuştur.

Afrika Boynuzu'nda Yahudilik dinî Etiyopya'da Aksum Krallığı döneminden itibaren varlık göstermektedir (David W., 2012:102). Ancak İsrail Devleti'nin kurulmasıyla, ülkedeki Falaşa Yahudileri geçen yüzyılın sonlarında İsrail'e göç etmişlerdir. Ayrıca Etiyopya'da Yahudi varlığına ek olarak Kenya ve Uganda'da da bu dine inanan çok az sayıda kişi bulunmaktadır.

Afrika Boynuzu'nun Uluslararası Politikadaki Önemi

Bölgenin uluslararası politikadaki öneminin en önemli kaynağı sahip olduğu jeopolitik konumudur (Abdul-Razzaq, t.y:366). Afrika Boynuzu'nun jeopolitik açıdan önemli olmasının nedenleri şu şekilde sıralanabilmektedir: (I) Süveyş Kanalı'nın 1869 yılında açılmasından sonra Babülmendep Boğazı geçişinin önemi artmış ve sonuç olarak Afrika Boynuzu bölgesinin stratejik önemi uluslararası arenada artmıştır. (II) Afrika Boynuzu'nun ABD ve Batı ülkeleri gibi büyük ülkeleri bu kaynakları savunmaya teşvik eden ve Basra Körfezi bölgesinde bulunan petrol kaynaklarına yakınlığı, buna erişimin sağlanması ve bunun içinde kullanılan en önemli araçlar arasında askerî üslerin de kurulması ve bölgedeki ülkelerle istihbarat bilgilerinin paylaşılması olmuştur. (III) Afrika Boynuzu bölgesi, Sudan'daki Sevakin Adası, Cibuti'deki Doralei Limanı, Eritre'deki Assab Limanı ve diğerleri gibi stratejik öneme sahip liman ve adaları içerir.

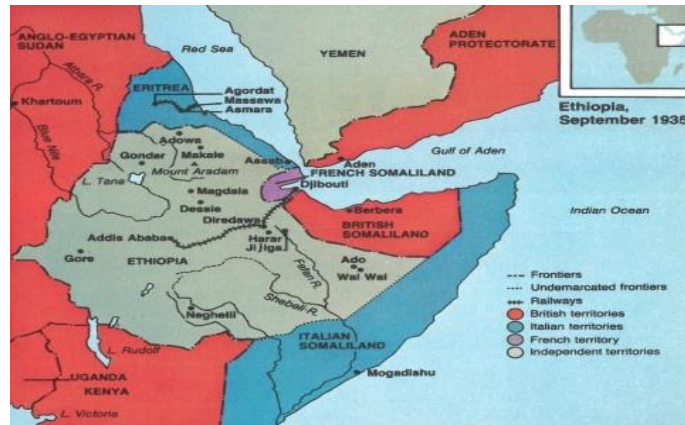
Sudan, Güney Sudan ve Uganda gibi bölge ülkelerinde petrolün keşfinden sonra artan Afrika Boynuzu'nun ekonomik önemi; doğalgaz, altın ve diğer doğal kaynaklarla daha da artmıştır. Diğer taraftan Afrika Boynuzu bölgesi önemli bir tatlı su kaynağıdır. Çünkü Mavi ve Beyaz Nil kaynakları Mısır'daki ana

su kaynaklarıdır (Mohamed, E., t.y:214). Bu hayatî kaynağın yeri, özellikle Soğuk Savaş'ın sona ermesinden sonra, su sorunu uluslararası alanda önemli bir mesele haline geldiğinden dolayı tüm yerel, bölgesel ve uluslararası seviyelere olan ilgiyi arttırmıştır. Su sorunu dünyanın birçok bölgesine ek özellikle Afrika Boynuzu ve Nil Havzası bölgesinde güvenlik ve istikrarın bozulmasına yol açabilmektedir. Nitekim Etiyopya'nın uygulamaya başladığı "Rönesans Barajı" projesi, Mısır ve Nil Havzası ülkeleri arasında yaşanacak olan su krizi ile bölgede istikrarı bozan diğer konulardan biri haline gelebilmektedir (Harriet, 2012:50).

Sıralanan faktörler bölgesel ve uluslararası aktörlerin bölgeye olan ilgisini arttırarak aktörlerin bölge üzerinde stratejik çıkarlarını gerçekleştirmek amacıyla politikalar üretmesine neden olmaktadır (Abdul-Razzaq, t.y:366).

Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki Uluslararası Rekabet Unsurları

Afrika Boynuzu'nda geleneksel uluslararası güçler bölgeye yeni gelen uluslararası güçler ve bölgesel güçler varlık göstermektedir. Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki geleneksel uluslararası güçlerin varlığı sömürge dönemine dayanmaktadır. Bu uluslararası güçler İngiltere, Fransa ve İtalya şeklinde ifade edilebilmektedir. İngiltere'nin Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki gerçek mevcudiyetinin başlangıcı, batı sömürge güçleri arasındaki sömürge rekabetinin maksimum düzeye ulaştığı XIX. yüzyılın ilk yarısında, İngiltere'nin Afrika Boynuzu'na yönelmesi olarak kabul edilebilir. Ancak İngiltere Sudan, Kenya, Uganda ve Somaliland "İngiliz Somalisi" ülkelerini kontrol altına aldıktan sonra Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki en etkili Avrupa ülkesi haline gelmiştir. Etkinlik gösterdiği bu bölgeler 1950'lere ve 1960'lara kadar bağımsızlıklarını kazanmayan İngiliz kolonileri olmuştur (Degu, 2002:182).



Şekil 3. Sömürge Döneminde Afrika Boynuzu Haritası (Africa and the British Empire Maps)

İngiliz mevcudiyetinde olduğu gibi, Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki Fransız mevcudiyetinin kökleri, Afrika kıtasındaki batı sömürge furyası dönemine kadar uzanmaktadır. Fakat Fransa'nın odağı kuzey, batı ve orta Afrika bölgelerinde olmuştur (Adu Boahen, 1987:22). Cibuti bu dönem Fransa'nın bölgede etkin olduğu tek noktadır. Daha sonra Fransa Etiyopya İmparatoru II. Menelik döneminde, 1907'de Etiyopya'daki ilk büyükelçiliğini açarak, XX. yüzyılın başından itibaren Etiyopya ile ilişkilerini pekiştirmeye çalışmıştır. 1917'de ise Cibuti ile Addis Ababa'yı birbirine bağlayan demiryolunun inşasına başlamıştır. Bu proje ile Fransa'nın bölgedeki etkinliği artmış Fransız askeri üssünün Cibuti'de konuşlandırılması ile devam edecek süreçte önemli bir merhaleyi temsil etmiştir (Sıradağ, 2014:107). Bölgedeki İtalyan varlığı Berlin Konferansı'nın yapıldığı IX. yüzyılın sonlarına kadar dayandırılabilir (Mattia, 2018:4-7). Özellikle 1885'in başlangıcında (AduBoahen, 1987: 49) yani Berlin Konferansı'ndan sonra İtalya, Eritre'ye ek olarak, Somali'nin büyük bölümlerini işgal ederek bölgede aktif politika yürüten Batılı aktörlerden bir diğeri haline gelmiştir. Aynı zamanda İtalyanlar Etiyopya'yı işgal etmeye çalışmıştır. Ancak 1896'da "Adwa" Muharebesi'nde Etiyopyalılar tarafından yenilmiştir (Van der Plas, 2017:3).

İtalya Afrika Boynuzu'nda ilk başta yavaş işgal politikasını, güvenilir izlenimi yarattıktan sonra ise askerî güç kullanmıştır. Böylece İtalya, 1889-1891 yılları arasında padişahlar ve kabile büyükleri ile bir dizi anlaşmayı yapmıştır. Ayrıca İtalyan Somaliland veya "Jubaland" olarak adlandırılan bölgede yani, Güneybatı Somali'de koruma ilan etmişlerdir (Abdul Razzaq, t.y:391). Ancak İtalyanlar, II. Dünya Savaşı'ndaki yenilgilerinden sonra bu bölgeleri kaybetti, bu yüzden İtalyan Somaliland'ı 1949'a kadar İngiliz yönetimi altında kalmıştır. Sonrasında Birleşmiş Milletler vesayeti altında ve yine İtalyan yönetimi altında

bir bölge olmuştur (Wael, 2008:48-49). Bu vesayet, Somali'nin bağımsızlığını kazandığı 1960 yılına kadar sürmüştür.

Aynı şekilde Etiyopya, Benito Mussolini'nin bölge halklarının sömürgeci genişleme hırsları nedeniyle 1936 yılında İtalyan işgaline maruz kaldı (Riyad, 1966:141). Ancak İtalyanların Etiyopya'yı işgalinden sonra Etiyopya, güçlü bir direnişten ve II. Dünya Savaşı'nın koşullarından dolayı 1941'de yeniden kuruldu.

Bundan sonra, özellikle II. Dünya Savaşı sonrası Avrupa'lı aktörlerin küresel bağlamda nüfuzlarını kaybetmeleri neticesinde Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki rekabet hattına yakın tarihte yeni uluslararası güçler girmiştir. Bu uluslararası güçlerin en önemlileri ABD, Rusya, Çin, Hindistan ve Japonya gibi devletlerdir. Burada, Çin ve ABD, Soğuk Savaş döneminden itibaren Afrika Boynuzu'nda varlığı artarak devam eden uluslararası güçlerdir.

Afrika Boynuzu'nda varlık gösteren en aktif bölgesel aktörler ise İran, İsrail, Türkiye ve Körfezi ülkeleri şeklinde sıralanabilmektedir. Bu ülkelerin Afrika Boynuzu'nda özellikle ekonomik, siyasî ve askerî alanlarda politikaları mevcut görünmektedir.



Şekil 4. Afrika Boynuzu'nda Uluslararası ve Bölgesel Rekabet (Jessica, 2019: Gulf state rivalries in the Horn of Africa: Time for a Red Sea policy?)

Sıralanan bölgesel güçlerden ilk olarak İran varlığıyla ilgili Afrika ülkeleriyle siyasî ve ekonomik ilişkileri güçlendirme istekliliğini gösterdiği ifade edilebilmektedir (Ayman, 2005:26).

Afrika Boynuzu'nda İran'ın varlığı yürüttüğü nükleer program üzerindeki Batı ve Amerikan baskısıyla ilişkili ilerlemektedir. Nitekim İran'ın kıtaya yönelik yürüttüğü politikaların temelinde uluslararası alanda yaşadığı siyasî ve ekonomik baskılar ışığında daha fazla Afrika desteği almayı amaçlaması yatmaktadır. Aynı zamanda İran, izolasyon duvarını kırmaya ve ABD'nin baskısı, yaptırımları ne olursa olsun İran'ın aktif bir dış politika yürütme kabiliyeti olduğunu göstermeye çalışmaktadır (Ayman, 2005:23).

İsrail'in Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki varlığı ise iki açıdan değerlendirilebilmektedir. İlk olarak belirtmek gerekir ki İsrail bölgede tarihi açıdan Afrikalı Falaşa Yahudileri tarafından temsil edilmektedir (Steven, 1992:The Bitá Israel Flasha in Ethiopia). İkinci olarak, Arap-İsrail çatışmasıyla ilgili bir güvenlik politikası mevcuttur. Bu, İsrail'in bölgede bir bütün olarak başarmayı amaçladığı politik hedefleri üzerinden değerlendirilebilmektedir. İsrail'in hedeflerinin İsrail'in ulusal güvenliği ile yakından bağlantılı olduğu açıktır, İsrail'in Filistin meselesi nedeniyle bölgedeki birçok ülke tarafından dayatılan bölgesel izolasyondan kurtulma girişimi bölgedeki politikalarında rol oynamaktadır. Bu nedenle İsrail, bölgedeki Ortodoks Hıristiyan akımına öncülük eden Etiyopya ile bir ilişki kurarak Afrika Boynuzu bölgesine odaklanmaktadır (Woodward, 2013:12). Ayrıca İsrail'in Sudan ile yakın zamanda ilişkiler kurma girişimlerine bakıldığında, bu girişimlerin başarılı olması durumunda bölgeye yönelik geliştirdiği politikalarda başarılı bir ivme yakaladığı ifade edilebilecektir.

Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki bölgesel güçlerin varlığı çerçevesinde, strateji yarışına katılan Arap Körfezi ülkelerinin ön saflarında Suudi Arabistan ve BAE gelmektedir. Ekonomik olarak, BAE, Somali'deki Berbera Limanı, Eritrean Assab Limanı ve Cibuti'deki Durali Limanı gibi Aden Körfezi ile Hint Okyanusu ve körfez kıyıları olanlar olmak üzere hayati bölgesel limanların satın alınması konusuna odaklanmıştır (Gérard, 2016: Le Monde Diplomatique, Septembre 2016). BAE ayrıca Puntland ile Somaliland gibi Somali yarı

ayrılıkçı bölgelerine yatırım yapmaya çalışmaktadır. Ancak 2018'de Mogadişu havaalanında BAE'nin ülkeye yasa dışı yollardan sokmaya çalıştığı 9 milyon dolara el konulması ile iki ülke arasındaki ilişkiler gerilmiştir (Charles, 2014:19–60).

Bölgeye yönelik Suudi Arabistan'ın politikası Suudi insanî yardım örgütleri aracılığıyla, özellikle Somali'de insanî destek yoluyla Afrika Boynuzu ülkelerinin desteğini almaya çalışmak şeklindedir. Ayrıca Suudi Arabistan ve bir dizi uluslararası gücün askerî üssüne ev sahipliği yapan Cibuti arasında 2017 yılında güvenlik anlaşması imzalanmış ancak halen ülke Afrika Boynuzu'nda askerî üs kuramamıştır (Aglionby, (2017: Financial Times 17 Jan. 2017). Belirtilmelidir ki bölgede İsrail, İran ve Körfez ülkelerinin artan etkinlikleri arasında rekabet de mevcuttur (Harry, 2018:350). Özellikle Körfez ülkeleri bölgede İsrail'in genişlemesine karşı herhangi bir politika üretmezlerken İran nüfuzunun artması noktasında engelleyici hamleler geliştirmeye çalıştıkları iddia edilebilmektedir.

Türkiye ile ilgili olarak, Türkiye'nin Afrika kıtasında önemli bir tarihî varlığa sahiptir. Aslında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile Afrika Boynuzu arasındaki bağlantılar, Osmanlı amirali Ali Bey'in Somali kıyılarına ve Malindi Limanına (Kenya) ulaştığı 1584 yılına dayanmaktadır (Numan, 2016:142-143). Son yıllarda ise, Türkiye'nin Afrika kıtasını ihmal etmemesi gerektiğine inandığı stratejik vizyona doğrultusunda 1990'lı yıllardan itibaren güçlenmeye başlayan ilişkiler daha üst bir aşamaya taşınmıştır (Davutoğlu, 2002:208).

Türkiye, 2002'den bu yana diplomatik, ekonomik ve kültürel bağları güçlendirmek amacıyla genel olarak Afrika kıtasına artan bir ilgi göstermiştir. Bunlara ek olarak Türkiye-Afrika ilişkileri, 2008 yılında yapılan ilk İstanbul Zirvesi'nden bu yana Afrika Birliği ile Türkiye arasında toplantı ile konferanslarla sonuçlanan ve çoğu Afrikalı liderin katıldığı önemli bir büyümeye tanık olmuştur (Numan, 2016:297).

Bu gelişmeler ışığında, Türkiye ve Afrika arasında üst düzeyde birçok ziyaretle devam eden yeni bir süreç başlamıştır. Türkiye Cumhurbaşkanı Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Afrika ülkelerini en çok ziyaret eden dünya lideridir (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, Cumhurbaşkanlığı, İletişim Başkanlığı). Ziyaretleri arasında Eritre ve Güney Sudan hariç sekiz Afrika Boynuzu ülkesinden altısı yer almıştır. 2011 yılında, Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan'ın yaklaşık otuz yıl sonra Somali'yi ziyaret eden ilk ülke lideri olduğu göz önünde bulundurulması gereken bir detaydır (Sıradağ, 2017:704). Yani Somali'de devam eden iç savaş nedeniyle ülkedeki merkezi hükümetin çöküşünden bu yana ülkeyi ziyaret eden ilk devlet başkanıdır.

Türkiye, siyasî, güvenlik, insanî, kalkınma ve hatta askerî açıdan Somali'ye büyük önem vermektedir. Bu bağlamda, Türkiye'nin Somali'deki varlığı, Somali'nin yeniden inşasına katkıda bulunmaktadır (Yalçın, 2016:32).

Türkiye stratejik planı çerçevesinde, Somali'nin başkenti Mogadişu yakınlarında askerî üssünü kurmuştur. Bu üs Türkiye'nin yurtdışında inşa ettiği en büyük askerî üs olarak kayıtlara geçmiştir. Üssün inşası ile Somali'nin uzun süren iç savaş boyunca çöken ordusunun yeniden oluşturulması çabalarının ilk aşamasını teşkil etmektedir (Middle East Monitor, 5 Oct. 2017).

Aynı bağlamda Türkiye'nin Etiyopya, Sudan ve Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki diğer ülkelerle güçlü ilişkileri vardır. Burada Etiyopya, birçok yatırım fırsatına sahip gelişmekte olan bir ülke iken, Türkiye büyük bir uzmanlığa ve sermayeye sahiptir. Bu, iki ülkenin menfaatine olacağı söylenebilmektedir (Abdu, 2012:207).

Sudan ile ilgili olarak, Sudan ve Türkiye'nin paylaştığı tarihî derinlikten çıkarılan stratejik ilişkiler bulunmaktadır. Bu, uzun vadede her iki tarafa da hizmet eden stratejik bir boyutla ilişki kurmaya çevrildi ve Sevakin Adası, Sudan ile Türkiye'nin aradığı stratejik ortaklığın derinliği için açık bir örnektir. Nitekim Türkiye, 2006 yılından bu yana Sudan ile olan ilişkilerine büyük önem vermeye başlamıştır (Orakçı, 2018:185).

Genel olarak, Türkiye'nin Afrika'ya yönelik dış politikası Afrika ülkeleri tarafından memnuniyetle karşılanmıştır. Bunun ışığında, Afrika Birliği'nin 2008 yılında Türkiye'yi stratejik bir ortak ilan etme kararı ve 2008 yılında yapılan "*Türkiye-Afrika İşbirliği*" zirvesi iki taraf arasındaki sürekli iş birliğinin başlangıç noktası olmuştur (Hazar, 2016:295).

Her hâlükârda, Afrika Boynuzu'n bölgesindeki bulunan aktörlerin politikaları ve aralarındaki rekabet Afrika Boynuzu bölgesinin stratejik, jeopolitik ve ekonomik öneminin sonucu olarak değerlendirilebilmektedir.

Uluslararası Politikanın Afrika Boynuzu'na Etkileri

Uluslararası ve bölgesel rekabetin Afrika Boynuzu'na yaptığı politik etkiye bakıldığında, bu etkinin sömürge döneminden mülhem alınarak üretilen hegemonik politikaların sonucunda ortaya çıktığı görülmektedir. Nitekim bağımsızlıkları sonrasında iç ve dış egemenliklerini tesis etme noktasında çeşitli krizler yaşayan Afrika ülkeleri üretilen hegemonik politikalar doğrultusunda gerçekleştirilen hamlelerden daha yoğun şekilde etkilenmiştir. Nitekim Somali örneğinde Soğuk Savaş döneminde ABD ve Sovyetler Birliği'nin rekabet alanı olan ülke Soğuk Savaş sonrası ABD'nin ürettiği politikalarından etkilenmiştir. Bu noktada bölge tarihinde egemen aktörler olan İngiltere, Fransa ve İtalya'nın ABD etkinliği karşısında rekabet etme güçleri zayıf olarak değerlendirilebilmektedir. Ancak Çin'in tüm kıtada ve özellikle Boynuz bölgesinde artan nüfuzu bölgenin geleceğinde geçmişinden daha ciddi rekabetlere sahne olacağına habercisi olarak görülebilmektedir. Büyük olasılıkla, ABD ve Çin, uzun süredir bölgedeki rakiplerinin başında yer almaktadır. Çünkü her iki taraf için bir öncelik, her birinin ulusal çıkarlarını etkileyen petrol unsurudur. ABD Afrika petrolünü daha fazla kullanmayı arzulamakta ve petrolün küresel stokunu kontrol etmeye çalışmaktadır. Bu noktadan hareketle Avrupa'nın Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki etkisini sınırlamayı ve Çin faaliyetleriyle mücadele etmeyi hedeflemektedir (East Africa GIS data, 2017:4). Askerî üsler, ülkelerin dış etki yaratması için en önemli araçlardan biri olarak kabul edilmektedir.

Diğer tarafta, uluslararası aktörlerin politikalarının ve bu aktörler arasındaki rekabetin Afrika Boynuzu ülkeleri üzerinde ekonomik açıdan olumlu ve olumsuz etkileri mevcuttur.

Olumsuz etkiler olarak, uluslararası aktörlerin siyasetleri bazı servetlerin yağmalanmasına, zenginliğin bir şekilde çalınmasına ve başkalarına aktarılmasına, dolayısıyla yoksulluğa ve az gelişmişliğe neden olmuştur. Ülkeyi trajik ekonomik koşullara sokan ABD yaptırımlarından etkilenen Sudan modeli bu konuda örnektir. ABD'nin yaptırımları Sudan ekonomisini ciddi biçimde tüketmiş ve doğal kaynaklar açısından zengin olan ülkeyi yoksulluk ve işsizlik oranlarını arttıran ardışık ekonomik krizlere sürüklemiştir. Bu yaptırımlar 1993 yılında başlamıştır. Sudan tarafından 1996 yılına kadar ülkede kalan El-Kaide lideri Usame bin Ladin'in ağırlanması sonrasında ABD, Sudan'ı terörizm destekçisi devletler listesine katmıştır (Abdel-Bari, 2007:55-59). Bunun sonucu, Sudan halkı 2019'da Ömer el-Beşir rejiminin düşmesiyle sonuçlanan ve "*Ekmek Devrim*" olarak bilinen büyük protestolarda el-Beşir rejimine karşı çıkmıştır. Sudan bir yandan ordu ile siyasî partiler ve diğer yandan sivil hareket arasında süren bir çekişme halindedir.

Diğer tarafta, Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki uluslararası varlığın olumlu etkisinden bahsetmek gerekirse ekonomisini ve altyapısını iyileştirmek için bu uluslararası ve bölgesel momentumdan yararlanmaya çalışan Etiyopya ve Kenya benzeri devletlerden bahsedilebilmektedir. Bu iki ülke, Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki uluslararası rekabet ışığında, hem yatırımları çekmek hem de altyapıyı modernize etmek açısından tatmin edici sonuçlar üretmek için esnek bir politika izlemişlerdir.

Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki Uluslararası Rekabete Dair Gelecek Senaryoları

Küresel ve bölgesel stratejik oyunun ayrılmaz bir parçası haline gelen Afrika Boynuzu'na uluslararası ve bölgesel yönelim artmıştır. Askerî üsler kurulması ve ekonomik faaliyetler söz konusu yönelime örnekler oluşturmaktadır. Bu değerlendirmeler ışığında, Afrika Boynuzu bölgesinde uluslararası ve bölgesel rekabetin geleceği iki senaryoda öngörülebilmektedir: Birincisi, Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki uluslararası güçler arasındaki harmonik rekabet senaryosu, ikincisi ise Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki uluslararası güçler arasındaki şiddetli rekabet senaryosu. Bu iki senaryoyu karşılaştırarak Afrika Boynuzu ülkelerinin geleceği üzerindeki etkisinin somutlaştırılması ve anlaşılması için çalışılacaktır.

Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki harmonik rekabet senaryosunu uyarılama girişimi, bu uluslararası sistemin kompozisyonunun değiştiği veya değiştiği durumda, uluslararası sistem yürüyüşünün geleceğini okuma girişimi bağlamında gelmektedir. Uluslararası sistem aynı kalırsa ve unsurlarının bileşimi değişmezse Afrika Boynuzu bölgesindeki uluslararası ve bölgesel rekabet önemli ölçüde değişmeyecektir. Bu durumda uluslararası ve bölgesel güçlerin Afrika Boynuzu'nda kalması beklenmektedir. Harmonik rekabet kavramı ile statüyü olduğu gibi korumak ve Soğuk Savaş günlerindeki çatışmalara benzer şekilde Afrika Boynuzu'nu doğrudan veya dolaylı bir savaş alanına dönüştürmemek kastedilmektedir. Bir bölgedeki birçok uluslararası gücün askerî üslerinin devamlılığı, harmonik rekabetin bir görüntüsünü vermektedir. Afrika Boynuzu ülkeleri arasında gerek bir ülke içinde gerek bölge ülkeleri arasında rahatsızlık, darbe

veya vekâlet savaşların büyük şansı olmayacağına inanılmaktadır. Bu duruma harmonik rekabet denilebilir. Ancak bu durum, uluslararası veya bölgesel güçler arasındaki anlaşmazlıkları ve rekabeti ortadan kaldırmamaktadır.

Afrika Boynuzu'na yönelik şiddetli rekabet senaryosuna gelince, uluslararası sistemde aktif olan bu uluslararası güçler arasındaki etkileşim sürecindeki potansiyel dönüşümlerin biçimiyle bağlantılıdır. Aslında, uluslararası sistemin gidişatını değiştirmek genellikle uluslararası alanda meydana gelen önemli olaylara bağlıdır. Ancak şu anda sorulabilecek sorular şunlardır: ABD uzun süre uluslararası sistemin lideri mi kalacak, yoksa durum değişecek mi? Çin kademeli yükselme stratejisini sessizce sürdürmeyi devam edecek mi yoksa terk edip daha mı saldırgan olacak?

Tüm bu durumlarda, Afrika Boynuzu bölgesindeki uluslararası veya bölgesel güçler arasındaki şiddetli rekabet hipotezi tartışmaya açıktır. Süper güçler ise, bundan önceki hipotezde olduğu gibi, bu hipotezde de daima piramidin tepesinde kalacaktır. Genel olarak Çin-Amerikan rekabetinin gelecek senaryolarında üç ihtimal vardır: Birinci ihtimal ABD'nin Çin'in ekonomik kalkınma sürecinde önemli olduğunu düşünürse, ekonomik ve politik ilişkileri birleştirmek için ABD ve Çin arasındaki yakınlaşma görülecek ve Çin Amerikan yatırım projelerinin yapıldığı bir adres olacaktır. İkinci ihtimal, ABD-Çin ilişkileri, Çin'in bir süper güç olmak istediği gerçeğine dayanarak daha fazla gerilime ve çekişmeye tanıklık ederken, ABD, Çin'in yükselişini ulusal güvenliğine ve uluslararası sistemdeki konumuna bir tehdit olarak değerlendirecektir (AhmedMuslim, 2018:276). Üçüncü ihtimal ise, ABD ve Çin arasındaki ilişkiler daha gerçekçi olacak ve gerçekler kuralına tabi olacaktır (Mary Helen, t.y:63). Böylelikle iki ülke arasındaki ilişkilerin aralarındaki mevcut rekabet nedeniyle aşırı yakınlığa yol açmayacaktır. Ancak askerî çatışma seviyesine kadar ulaşmayacaktır; çünkü ikisinin de yıkıcı askerî gücü, birbirleri ile olası bir çatışmaya girmelerine engel olacaktır.

Her durumda ikinci ve üçüncü ihtimallere dair varsayımlar açık bir şekilde uluslararası bir iki kutuplu veya çok kutuplu sistem altında bu iki kuvvet arasındaki şiddetli rekabet senaryosunu pekiştirmektedir. Bu durum, ABD'nin Çin'in ekonomik, askerî ve teknolojik gücünün yükselmesi karşılığında gücünün bir kısmını kaybedeceğini ima etmektedir. Amerikan hegemonyasının düşmesinin Amerikalıların gözünde kolay olmadığını bilmek gerekmektedir. Böylelikle şiddetli bir rekabet yaratacak ve kendini güçlendirmek veya diğer tarafı zayıflatmaya çalışmak için güçlü ve zayıf yanları arayacaktır. Böyle bir ortamda, Afrika'nın doğal kaynakları ve Afrika Boynuzu gibi stratejik yerler ABD ve Çin'in endişeleri arasında kalacaktır. Afrika'nın kaynakları üzerindeki uluslararası mücadele, Afrika'daki Çin-Amerikan rekabetinden daha zorlu, şiddetli ve güçlü bir rekabet olacaktır. Çünkü bir sonraki çatışmada en önemli stratejik öncelik, petrol de dâhil olmak üzere birincil kaynaklar unsurunu içermektedir (Didier, 2009:178).

Aslında, uluslararası güçler arasındaki rekabet ne kadar yoğun olursa, Afrika Boynuzu bölgesi rekabet halindeki devletler için daha fazla önem kazanmaktadır. Bölgedeki çatışma esas olarak coğrafyanın ekonomik kalkınmada ve uluslararası güçlerin aradığı gücü inşa etmede önemli bir faktör olması nedeniyle ortaya çıkacaktır. Üstelik Afrika kıtasının bir parçası olan bu bölgede yatırım fırsatlarının 2025 yılına kadar 5.6 trilyon dolara çıkması beklenmektedir (The World Economic Forum, 2020). Özellikle Afrika, protokollerini 2019'da imzaladığı Afrika Kıta Serbest Ticaret Bölgesi'ni (*African Continental Free Trade Area-AfCFTA*) kurmaya karar verdikten sonra beklentiler güçlenmektedir (Africa Growth Initiative, 2019:2). AfCFTA, dünyanın en büyük serbest ticaret bölgesi olacaktır. Bu, Afrika Boynuzu da dâhil olmak üzere Afrika kıtasına uluslararası ve bölgesel yönelim şansını artıracaktır. Her halükârda, yukarıda belirtilen yaklaşımlara göre, Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki uluslararası ve bölgesel eğilimlerin olumsuz ve olumlu sonuçları olacağı şeklinde değerlendirme yapmak mümkün görünmektedir.

Yukarıdaki değerlendirmenin bir sonucu olarak, dünyanın iki kutuplu veya çok kutuplu bir uluslararası sisteme doğru ilerlediğini söylemek mümkün iken; Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki bölgesel ve uluslararası güçler arasındaki rekabet, uyumlu bir rekabet yaklaşımı olarak kabul edilebilmektedir. Ancak şiddetli rekabet yaklaşımı daha güçlü olmaya devam edeceğini söylemek mümkündür. Bununla birlikte ABD ve Çin'in Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki rekabet halinde olan bölgesel ve uluslararası güçlerin ön saflarında kalacağı iddia edebilmektedir.

Sonuç

XXI yüzyılda Afrika Boynuzu'nun bölgesinin uluslararası politikada önemi konusunu sunduktan sonra bu çalışmanın en önemli bulgularının görüntülenmesi ile ilgili olarak, ilk başta Afrika Boynuzu'nun bölgesi, stratejik konumu ve doğal zenginliği nedeniyle siyasi, ekonomik veya askerî-güvenlik açısından uluslararası arenada önemli bir bölge olduğu sonucuna varmıştır. Bu önem nedeniyle, ABD, Rusya, Çin, İngiltere, Fransa Türkiye, İran, Suudi Arabistan ve Hindistan gibi bölgesel ve uluslararası güçlerin Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki rekabet bulunmasının ana sebebidir.

Ayrıca, araştırmanın ulaştığı sonuçlar arasında Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki bölgesel ve uluslararası rekabetin bölge ülkelerine olumlu ve olumsuz etki vardır. Olumlu yönler özellikle ekonomik ve askerî-güvenlik çerçevesine ilişkin olarak; Çin gibi Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki rakip uluslararası güçler, Afrika'ya yatırım fırsatları sunmuştur. Çinliler, esnek ekonomik politikalar benimsemiş, Afrika ülkelerine sert ve haksız olarak nitelenebilecek koşullar dayatan Batılıların aksine ılımlı ve içişlerine karışmayan tutumlar sergilemişler.

Olumsuz modeller hakkında şunlar söylenebilir: ABD, Çin, Fransa ve diğer büyük uluslararası güçlerin askerî varlığı, bölge ülkelerini onların politikalarına tabi kılacaktır. Onlar arasında herhangi bir değişimin oluşması, Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki siyasî olayların gidişatı üzerinde doğrudan veya dolaylı etkide bulunacaktır. Buna ek olarak, bölgedeki ABD'nin politikasına bakılığında, Amerikalıların Sudan'a uyguladığı boğucu ekonomik yaptırımlar nedeniyle, ülkede siyasal çalkantılara ve ekonomik çöküşüne yol açmıştır.

Her hâlükârda, Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki bölgesel ve uluslararası rekabetin kaderinin, barış veya başka durumlarda uluslararası sistemin kaderine bağlı olduğunu söylenebilmektedir. Son olarak, söylenebilecek şey, Afrika Boynuzu'nun tüm standartlara göre hayati ve önemli bir bölge olduğu için, ister Afrika kıtası içinden ister dışından tarafsızlık koşuluyla akademik araştırmacılar için öncelik olmayı hak etmektedir.

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THE ROLE OF NGOS IN MANAGING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: THE CASE OF NIGERIA

RESEARCH ARTICLE

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ABSTRACT: This paper aims to investigate the increase in domestic violence which has equally given rise to spousal killings in Nigeria, with the year 2017 marking its highest point. Domestic violence is mainly perpetrated by men and suffered by their female counterparts. As such, this work examines domestic violence as it affects women. The research work makes use of the qualitative research design, utilizing the tools of personal interviews and observation of persons randomly chosen from the population within the area of study. The research used an unstructured interview guide, which helped to draw a vivid detail of the experiences of the interviewees and their understanding of Domestic Violence. These details explain the theoretical Framework- Psychology, Sociology, and Feminist Theories, which also guided in the collection of data. The result of this research is that the role played by NGOs in managing domestic violence was discovered to be geared more towards awareness than action; hence, its role is minimal. However, NGOs are not solely responsible as it includes the victims and government alike as victims are psychologically programmed by society to shield perpetrators and persevere to a fatal point. Also, the government, through its law enforcement agency, is not giving NGOs the necessary support to fight Domestic Violence which, has led to an increase in spousal killings from domestic violence. The implication of this research is a call to help in the efforts of NGOs more towards action to reduce the fatal effects of domestic violence and to draw out the contributing factors that have hindered its effective management of domestic violence in Nigeria.

Keywords: Domestic Violence, Spousal killings, Abuse, Victim, NGOs

Le Rôle Des ONG Dans La Gestion De La Violence Domestique En Afrique Subsaharienne: Le Cas Du Nigéria

RESUME: Cet article vise à enquêter sur l'augmentation de la violence domestique qui a également donné lieu à des meurtres de conjoints au Nigéria, l'année 2017 marquant son point culminant. La violence domestique est principalement perpétrée par les hommes et subie par leurs homologues féminines. À ce titre, ce travail examine la violence domestique telle qu'elle affecte les femmes. Le travail de recherche utilise la conception de la recherche qualitative, en utilisant les outils d'entretiens personnels et d'observation de personnes choisies au hasard dans la population de la zone d'étude. La recherche a utilisé un guide d'entrevue non structuré, qui a aidé à dessiner un détail vivant des expériences des personnes interrogées et de leur compréhension de la violence domestique. Ces détails expliquent le cadre théorique - psychologie, sociologie et théories féministes, qui a également guidé la collecte de données. Le résultat de cette recherche est que le rôle joué par les ONG dans la gestion de la violence domestique s'est avéré plus orienté vers la prise de conscience que vers l'action ; par conséquent, son rôle est minime. Cependant, les ONG ne sont pas seules responsables, car elles incluent les victimes et le gouvernement, car les victimes sont psychologiquement programmées par la société pour protéger les auteurs et persévérer jusqu'à un point mortel. De plus, le gouvernement, par le biais de son organisme d'application de la loi, ne donne pas aux ONG le soutien nécessaire pour lutter contre la violence domestique, qui a conduit à une augmentation des meurtres de conjoints dus à la violence domestique. L'implication de cette recherche est un appel à aider davantage les ONG à agir pour réduire les effets fatals de la violence domestique et à mettre en évidence les facteurs contributifs qui ont entravé sa gestion efficace de la violence domestique au Nigeria.

Mot-clés : Violence domestique, Meurtres de conjoints, Abus, Victime, ONG

Introduction

In this 21st century, one cannot help but wonder, the reason for the incessant rise in not just divorce cases but the current upsurge of spousal murders (known as Uxoricide when its murder of a female partner or Matricide when its murder of a male partner) in Nigeria, which led to the year 2017 being tagged "Year of Deadly Domestic Violence Cases" by Punch Newspaper, DailyTrust Newspaper and SunNews amongst others. Some of the reported cases in DailyTrust Newspaper 2017 are as follows;

"Mathias Eze a former Commissioner in the Enugu State Independent Electoral Commission (ENSIEC) shot and killed his wife in front of his daughter because she failed to prepare food for him. Christian Agba strangled his wife in frustration over her refusal to grant him his matrimonial conjugal rights. A washer-man Henry Nnamdi killed his wife because he believed she was guilty of an extra-marital affair.

A middle-aged man Peter Odion allegedly killed his wife for eating his food! She said she had a headache and could not cook food. When he decided to cook for himself she ate the food. In his annoyance he killed her. A young man Bassey Effiong killed his girlfriend over a phone handset. Bassey had limited finances and when the love of his life started to use a brand new expensive handset he believed she was having an affair with a rich man who bought it for her so he killed her. Another woman Janet Odeghegbe was set on fire by her husband simply because she accepted a glass of wine from another man at a party! Naomi Chidiebere was also set on fire by her husband when she quarreled with him for always coming home drunk. On the night in question, he was so drunk that it was only when he sobered up in the morning and tried to wake her from sleep that he realized what he had done.

Wife murder isn't limited only to the drunk, volatile and ungodly. Rev Sunday Alfa, a Senior Pastor of United Evangelical Church murdered his wife a mother of four children for refusing to sleep with him because she had recently given birth by cesarean section." These have resulted in the new trend nowadays whereby wives are equally now killing their husbands as well. Domestic violence has been defined as "any incident of controlling, coercive, threatening behavior, violence or abuse between those aged 16 or over who are or have been intimate partners or family members regardless of gender or sexuality. The abuse can encompass, but is not limited to: psychological, physical, sexual, financial and emotional."(Domestic Violence London, para.1). Domestic Violence London went further to state that it can also involve violence against children, parents, or elderly, and may be done for self-defense. It takes several forms including physical, verbal, emotional, economic, religious, reproductive, and sexual abuse, which can range from subtle, coercive forms to marital rape and to violent physical abuse such as choking, beating, female genital mutilation, and acid throwing that results in disfigurement or death. Domestic murders include stoning, bride burning, honor killings and, dowry deaths.

World Health Organisation (WHO) stated that major victims of spousal violence are women and according to the global estimates published by WHO indicate that about 1 in 3 (35%) of women worldwide have experienced either physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence or non-partner sexual violence in their lifetime. It went further to state that most of this violence is intimate partner violence. Worldwide, almost one third (30%) of women who have been in a relationship report that they have experienced some form of physical and/or sexual violence by their intimate partner in their lifetime. While, globally, as many as 38% of murders of women are committed by a male intimate partner. Whereas there have been efforts to encourage female victims of domestic violence to report it to the authorities, there have been comparatively few efforts to encourage male victims to do the same.

Additionally, Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) against men is generally less recognized by society than IPV against women, which can act as a further block to men reporting their situation. However, homicide as a result of domestic violence makes up a greater proportion of female homicides than it does male homicides. More than 50 percent of female homicides are committed by former or current intimate partners in the United States whereas there is The Family Violence Prevention and Services Act and the main law which is, the Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act of 2013. In the United Kingdom (UK), there is a provision for the criminalization of domestic violence under section 76 of the Serious Crime Act 2015, section 120 of Adoption and Children Act 2002 and lastly, there is Domestic Violence, Crime and Victims Act 2004 (Domestic Abuse Policy Legislation and Guidance).

Domestic violence has been recognized internationally as an abuse of human rights through the passing of international instruments such as Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) 1981, Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women 1999, Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 and Convention Against Torture. Although in the past, international treaties only provided protection against domestic violence implicitly, in the 1990's domestic violence began to receive more explicit attention with the passage of the General Recommendation No.19 by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (1992) and the Declaration of Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993). The last 20 years have also witnessed numerous resolutions from the United Nations (UN) General Assembly on Violence Against Women, including one that specifically addressed domestic violence (The Advocates; para.1).

In Africa, many countries do not yet have a law that protects partners of an intimate relationship, especially women against domestic violence and the few that do, encounter problems that lead to the ineffectiveness of such laws. Few countries like South Africa have the Domestic Violence Act of 1998 and the Uganda Domestic Violence Act 2010. Nigeria equally has the Violence Against Persons (Prohibition)

Act 2015 however, its implementation is questionable and there are still some provisions in the Nigeria law which makes it legal to engage in domestic violence against women such as the provision of the Penal Code applicable in the Northern part of Nigeria that specifically encourages violence against women. Underneath its provisions, is the beating of a wife for correction, which is a legal abuse (Section 55 (1)(d) of the Penal Code.) (Nnandilne, 2012) Hence, this article tends to deal with Domestic Violence concerning both the male and female gender as against the laws and the roles that NGOs play to help stop domestic violence in Nigeria.

Conventional wisdom stipulates that in Nigeria, the National Assembly sat down and passed the Violence Against Persons (VAPP) (Prohibition) Act into law in 2015 and equally ratified Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Violence Against Women 1981. But still, domestic violence is on the rise with the incessant killings of spouses in Nigeria. What could be the reason for the increase despite the abundance of NGOs such as Mirabel Rape Crisis Center (MRCC), Nigerian Women Fund (NWF), Stand to End Rape (STER) and Legal Defence and Assistance Project (LEDAP) Nigeria amongst others? In a 2011 report on progress of the World's women by UN Women, the UN body responsible for gender rights, reported that only 21 Sub-Saharan African countries had specific laws against domestic violence (Africa renewal, 2012).

Therefore, this article identifies why these NGOs are failing and factors hindering the effectiveness of these NGOs. These NGOs most times encounter problems such as inadequate legal system or poor implementation of laws by law enforcement agencies, for instance, the case of Late Ochanya Ognaje who died 17th of October 2018 as a result of series of rapes both vaginally and anally by her uncle who is a lecturer at a university and his son whom she was living with. She later developed complicated health issues and died whereas the uncle and the son have been arrested but justice seems far away due to the nonchalant attitude of the Nigerian legal system. Also, certain religious doctrines pose a problem to the effective management of Domestic Violence by NGOs as incidences abound whereby, the husband's actions such as restricting the movement of the wife, banning the wife from taking up any job and in one of such cases, it even resulted in the husband destroying the original certificates of the wife up to the PhD level, are deemed to be the rights of the man as contained in divine books.

Lastly, another major problem affecting the role of NGOs is the psychological and sociological manipulation of victims by their assailants. This is because domestic violence is mostly inflicted by close male relatives, spouses and intimate relationship partners of these victims. Domestic Violence is practiced by the stronger party in a relationship through the battering of wife/husband, verbal abuse that serve to dehumanize and strip the victim of will, rape and sodomy of infants, women (including pregnant women), underage girls (below 18 or 21 years of age depending on the jurisdiction) and boys by their own fathers, cousins, uncles and even grandfathers, which can lead to miscarriage, serious physical injuries and even death.

The tricky part about domestic violence in Sub-Saharan Africa, Nigeria in particular, is that Domestic violence against women is highly influenced by traditional and religious values as some cultures deem it to be a sign of manliness hence making managing domestic violence by NGOs difficult. This article seeks to examine the role played by various NGOs in managing domestic violence, in order, to solve the problem of inadequate or unavailable support to victim vis-à-vis laws that regulate domestic violence in Nigeria.

With the incessant increase in the rate of domestic violence in Nigeria despite the presence of NGOs and the seemingly encompassing law put in place to manage it. One cannot help but wonder if these NGOs are performing the ultimate role they are supposed to due to a recent upsurge in the abuse and killings of spouses and the challenges that may affect their effectiveness in eradicating domestic violence. This article is to galvanize the roles played by these NGOs to come up with better ways in which they can better perform their roles in the management of domestic violence in Nigeria. According to Daily Trust Newspaper, It has been observed that women are becoming the perpetrators of spousal murder in retaliation for a history of abuse and with the lack of marriage guidance counselors, the unwillingness of family and friends to get involved in other people's relationships, and the characteristic philandering of African men, and the assertiveness of the modern African woman cases of wives murdering their husbands can only be expected to increase (dailytrust.com.ng; para.11).

While the issue of domestic violence is a global issue, this article focus on the role played by NGOs while taking into account the strategies used, challenges faced and the applicable laws resorted to, in the management of domestic violence in Nigeria. According to the 2008 Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey, 18 percent of every married woman had experienced intimate partner sexual violence, and 24 percent had experienced intimate partner emotional violence at least once in their lifetime. Of women who had never been pregnant, 5 percent had experienced physical violence during pregnancy. The highest rates of violent victimization in recent marriages, regardless of the type of violence, were found in the South (46%), North Central (38%) and South East (35%) zones.

According to Punch Newspaper (www.punch.com; 2017), there were cases of domestic violence in different parts of Nigeria in 2017 and between January and September, a total of 852 of such cases were recorded in Lagos State alone. "There are prominent cases like that of Bilyamin, which occurred on the 18th of November 2017 when Bilyamin the son of a former chairman of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) was allegedly stabbed to death by his wife, Maryam Sanda who is the daughter of embattled former Aso Savings Bank boss. The Nigerian Police recently confirmed the arrest of Maryam Sanda for stabbing her husband Bilyaminu Haliru Bello to death. Reports have claimed that she killed her husband by stabbing him multiple times after seeing text messages on his phone which suggested that he was engaged in an extra-marital affair. In an act of apparent remorse, after the stabbing Maryam drove her husband to the hospital where she allegedly confessed to medical staff that she was responsible."

Another incident was that of Fidelia who was beaten to death by her retired boxer hubby during a disagreement in their home in Anambra State and so many similar incidents like these" (Punch, 2017). These current trends if left unchecked might result in a scourge which will take time to be purged out of Nigeria and NGOs have a great role to play if this situation is to be put under control because for each spousal murder reported there are hundreds of unreported spousal battering cases (dailytrust.com.ng; para.11).

Conceptual Framework

This article clarifies key terms based on the views of four different authors, with a concluding view of the author. It provides a description, summary and critical evaluation of these works concerning the topic being investigated (Fink Arlene, 2014) and, have been grouped into different approaches- Human Rights Approach, Health Approach, Socio-cultural Approach, and Socio-psychological Approach concluding with a theoretical framework which analyses different relevant theories- Feminist Theory, Psychological Theory and Sociological Theory that help to understand the topic.

Domestic Violence (DV)/ Intimate Partner Violence (IPV):

According to Sarah and Lana, "domestic violence is an act of gender-based violence. Domestic violence involves the combination of physical and/or Sexual Violence with a variety of control tactics such as economic, emotional, social (constant monitoring) and spiritual abuse, the use of children and pets, and threats and intimidation." They went further to state that the primary perpetrators of this violence in a heterosexual relationship are men, hence gender plays an important role and that domestic violence is a common problem that women share all over the world (Sarah and Lana, 2015).

Domestic violence and its related concepts consist of complex intersections of three elements: violence, domesticity, and structural inequality. In its strong sense, domestic violence reflects the intersection of violence, domesticity, and structural inequality. In its weak sense, domestic violence reflects only the intersection of violence and domesticity. Lastly, in order for the concept of domestic violence to be correctly applied, the act in question must be illegitimate (i.e unjustified, all things considered) (Dempsey, 2006).

Domestic violence which is also known as intimate partner violence (IPV) is a pervasive public health problem due to its high prevalence, and the numerous acute and chronic mental and physical health conditions associated with it. IPV is defined as emotional, physical, or sexual abuse, or stalking that occurs among individuals in an intimate (close) relationship including current and former spouses and dating partners but its not limited by age, marital status, cohabitation, or sexuality, and recognizes that women may be perpetrators as well as victims of IPV/DV(Clark, 2013).

IPV/DV is defined as any behavior within an intimate relationship or ex-relationship that causes physical, psychological, or sexual harm. This includes physical aggression, such as hitting, kicking, and beating; psychological violence, such as intimidation, constant humiliation; various controlling behaviors, such

as isolation from family and friends, monitoring movements, financial control, and restricting access to services; and sexual violence, including forced intercourse and other sexual coercion. Lifetime prevalence of isolated violent acts within relationships is comparable for men and women, but repeated coercive, sexual or severe physical violence is perpetrated largely against women by men (Feder, 2012).

Consequently, the word “domestic violence” has evolved such that it is now all inclusive including sexual, physical, psychological or economic violence committed by family or intimate partners against male and female gender, youths and even children, parents and elderly. Domestic violence can be referred to as intimate partner violence, spousal violence and battery among others. These authors also show that although domestic violence is perpetrated mostly by men, it is also perpetrated by women (although rarely). Domestic violence, is in essence violence that occurs in the home.

Abuse

Abuse is defined as any action that intentionally harms or injures another person. It could be physical, psychological, rape, sexual assault, verbal, elder and financial abuse. They stated that abuse is most commonly committed by a person the victim knows and, often, lives with. When one partner abuses another, it is known as intimate partner abuse. Abuse within families is often known as domestic abuse or domestic violence. Furthermore, she argued that the meaning of abuse is not as clear as its definition because it is something that is of common occurrence and most people engage in it often however, what abuse really means is control. When a truly abusive situation exists, it’s because one party is seeking to control the other through abuse. Domestic abuse often escalates from threats and verbal abuse to violence. And while physical injury maybe the most obvious danger, the emotional and psychological consequences of domestic abuse are also severe. Emotionally abusive relationships can destroy a person’s self-worth, lead to anxiety and depression, and make you feel helpless and alone (Smith & Segal, 2018).

In the understanding of Natasha, an abuse does not have to involve physical injuries unlike in the term domestic violence where physical injury is key in its definition. However, nowadays, Abuse encompasses both cases of physical injury and mental injury. Therefore, abuse is a word used to qualify the forms of violence whether physical, sexual or emotional. It is sometimes used interchangeably with the act itself. (Natasha Tracy, 2016).

Mullender (1996) stated that abuse take many forms such as physical Abuse, Sexual Abuse and Emotional Abuse. Physical abuse is the most common out of all these forms and the severity range from “medium” to “high”. According to Mullender, abuse “...starts with early slaps and punches that resulted in cuts and bruises giving way to being knocked to the floor, kicked and punched. More severe injuries then become common such as fractures, burns, miscarriage caused by violent attacks, internal injuries, attempts to strangle and drown, being pulled around by the hair and having clumps of hair pulled out.” He stated that through all forms of abuse, the physical abuse or the anticipation of it keeps all other forms of abuse in place.

According to Sharon Hayes (2014) “...relationship abuse is not only a problem for women in heterosexual relationship” because it cuts across all form of relationship including among homosexuals. Therefore, abuse is not based on a particular gender as it can be perpetrated on or experienced by both gender. She also went further that it could lead to negative and long-lasting costs to survivors including physical and mental illness. Furthermore, the first step in liberating a victim of abuse is to make them to recognize the abuse.

Therefore, Abuse can be defined as either visible or invisible injuries (physical or mental) meted out to persons. The word abuse could also be used interchangeably with the act of Domestic violence and not just the effects (injuries) that occur after the act. Another notable knowledge is that abuse become addictive to victims who in turn cannot recognize that they are being abused which makes such abuse to linger on for long. Therefore, such victims need to recognize that they are being abused before they can be liberated from such abuse.

Victim

It has been established by Elias (1986) that the definition of victim has been greatly expanded to make a clear distinction between offender and victim. The new victims include not only victims of criminals but also victims of oppression, and not only U.S oppression, but global oppression. Thus, he went further

that though the raped, robbed, burgled and murdered are victims, so are those who are indecently housed, poorly fed, made to do menial or hazardous work or not provided with work at all. Also included in this definition, are those victimized by being denied human rights protections covering cultural, religious and ideological differences.

Victims are those being abused and as such, they are so close to the situation to see it clearly. The author also stated that the men who are most in danger of being victims of domestic homicide at the hands of their wives are actually the men perpetrating the violence and they are rarely aware of the dangers they face. They went further to state that the dynamics of homicide victimization for the male and for the female generally differs. For the woman, the act of killing is typically defensive or committed out of self-preservation whereas, for the man, the act of killing is typically offensive and preceded by escalating violence (Katherine and Roberts, 2009).

Sarah and Lana (2015) define victims of domestic violence as primarily women because large numbers of women are affected all over the world. And that it invades all aspect of women's life thereby curtailing women's ability to act as citizens because it stops women from moving and acting freely in their communities and homes across the world.

In the opinion of Nash (2008), the definition of a victim as a party injured by a crime, is simply vague. He proposed a meaning of victim that would be recognized under the federal criminal law and sentencing guidelines grounded in five concepts; adequacy of victim injury, proximate cause, and victims who are imaginary, culpable or consenting. The victim should have rights and be able to partake as well as be considered in the sentencing of the accused (perpetrator of the injury against the victim). Therefore, to him, a victim is not just a simple word but one that carries legal relevance with it.

In conclusion, a victim of domestic violence is not just a victim of oppression but a victim to which a crime has been committed against- a party who has sustained injuries from the acts of another, in these cases, an intimate partner. A victim of domestic violence can be either a woman or a man. This does not mean that the word 'victim' only refer to domestic violence as explained by Elias (2006) but also other cases like theft, accidents and so on. Such victims are at the center of the action and in Katherine and Roberts opinion (2009), they can be blinded by abuse to the extent they do not realize they are being abused.

Empirical Approach to Domestic Violence

Human Rights Approach

It is apparent today that domestic violence counts as a violation of one's human rights. Although early human rights law enacted by the United Nations did not specially mention violence against women (being the main victims of domestic violence) however, it is still relevant to domestic violence.

In 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was adopted. Although it is not originally binding on members, it has however received recognition as a binding expression of customary law and an authoritative interpretation of the United Nations (UN) Charter itself. Article 3 of the UDHR states that "everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person" this right was equally reaffirmed in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights adopted in 1966, which protects the right to life (Article 6) and the right to liberty and security of person (Article 9). These rights, as well as others in the UDHR, ICCPR, and the International Covenant on Social, Economic, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) such as the right to equal protection under the law and the right to the highest standard of physical and mental health, are implicated in domestic violence cases. Therefore, States that are parties to these instruments have an implicit obligation to protect women from domestic violence as part of their obligations.

Furthermore, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) which entered into force in 1981 has as its primary focus the condemnation by all state parties of every form of discrimination against women in all its forms. This was interpreted as covering violence against women. The committee which is the monitoring body of CEDAW explicitly included gender-based violence as a form of discrimination covered by CEDAW when it stated that:

The definition of discrimination includes gender-based violence, that is, violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately. It includes acts that inflict

physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivations of liberty, Gender-based violence may breach specific provisions of the Convention, regardless of whether those provisions expressly mention violence.

The General Recommendation 19 equally specifies domestic violence as a form of discrimination against women, stating:

Family violence is one form of the most insidious forms of violence against women. It is prevalent in all societies. Within family relationships women of all ages are subjected to violence of all kinds, including battering, rape, other forms of sexual assault, mental and other forms of violence, which are perpetuated by traditional attitudes. Lack of economic independence forces many women to stay in violent relationships. The abrogation of their family responsibilities by men can be a form of violence, and coercion. These forms of violence put women's health at risk and impair their ability to participate in family life and public life on a basis of equality.

The Convention Against Torture (CAT) whose monitoring body is the Committee Against Torture has been ratified by 151 states and in clarifying states responsibility for torture by non-state actors cited that "states parties' failure to prevent and protect victims from gender-based violence, such as rape, domestic violence, female genital mutilation, and trafficking" as violation of CAT, the committee and Special Rapporteur on Torture routinely request information on the prevalence of domestic violence in a country. In particular, concern about torture in the form of domestic violence has been raised in recent committee review for Bosnia and Herzegovina, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Moldova and many others.

- Lastly, there is the UN Sustainable Development Goal 2030 (SDGs), wherein goal 5 provides for gender equality across all parts of the world as follows
- "End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere (target 5.1); Adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels (target 5.c); Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws (target 5a) as well as enhance the use of enabling technology to promote the empowerment of women (target 5b)"

The Agenda 2063 of the African Union (AU) equally towed the line of the above UN instruments by recognizing the rights of women and the girl child in Aspiration 6 which provides for "An Africa whose development is people driven, relying on the potential offered by African people, especially its Women and Youth, and caring for children." Under which you have as its goal, the full gender equality in all spheres of life while, focusing on the priority area of women and girls empowerment, violence and discrimination against women (Agenda 2063 Document, 20). It equally states further that violence against women would have been reduced by a third in 2023 as part of its first ten-year implementation plan from 2014-2023 (Agenda 2063 Document, 22).

According to the National Violence Against Women Network, "Violence Against Women is therefore a human rights issue because an individual's physical integrity and private life are violated and the state is required by international law to take steps to prevent as well as robustly address violations" the sort to examine the ways the laws have been couched and how they have fallen short in terms of implementation.

They went further to point out that "Violence Against women both violates and impairs the enjoyment of fundamental human rights. For women and girls aged 16-44 years old, violence is a major cause of death and disability. In 1994, a world bank study on ten selected risk factors facing girls and women in this age groups found rape and domestic violence more dangerous than cancer, motor vehicle accidents, war and malaria" and that is what obtains till today.

In the work of Dorothy Q, Thomas and Michele E. Beasley " Domestic Violence as a Human Rights Issue" they stated that "if violence against women in the home is inherent in all societies, then it can no longer be dismissed as something private and beyond the scope of state responsibility" this was meant to address the erroneous believe by government parastatals and agencies who are meant to protect the

fundamental rights of every individual that domestic violence is a private matter which should be addressed in the private confines of the home.

The authors went on to state some of the problems with understanding domestic violence as a human rights issue: the scope of international human rights law which exclusive focus on the behaviour of states confines the operation of international human rights law entirely within the public sphere, gender neutral law and gender biased application. Which makes international law of little effect although being gender neutral in theory but, because it interacts with gender biased domestic laws and social structures that relegate women and men to the separate sphere of existence (private and public).

Another problem addressed is the problem of the concept of state responsibility “which defines the limits of government’s accountability for human rights abuses under international law”. Previously, States used to be held responsible only for what they do directly or through an agent, rendering acts of purely private individual- such as domestic violence crimes- outside the scope of State responsibility. However, more recently, the concept of State responsibility has expanded to include actions not only directly committed by the State but also, those States systematic failures to prosecute acts committed either by low level para-state agents or private sectors.

In conclusion, it is relevant to review these above instruments because the use of violence against a person (whether female or male) is a strong violation of human rights. Hence, it cannot be ignored in the discussion of domestic violence. Furthermore, domestic violence cannot be separated from gender because research all over the world has proven that women are most at the receiving end of this violence (that is not to say that men are not at the receiving end as well). This is why these instruments and also the literary works that have been reviewed lay emphasis on women and girls.

Health Approach

Oyedokun (2008) in his work observed that in violence against women, population studies, and global health issues intersect and he examines the impact of domestic violence specifically from the point of physical abuse and marital rape of Nigerian women which in turn affects Nigerian’s women use of modern contraception. His article is based on a 2003 Large-N survey of 408 women in the Ife-North Local Government Area of Osun State, Nigeria. It uses simple descriptive statistics, chi-square and binary logistic regression models to show that over half of female respondents had experienced intimate partner violence, been threatened with physical violence, or been victims of marital or intimate partner rape. Specifically, the study found that violence or the threat of violence significantly affected women’s use of contraception, as they often feared repercussions from jealous or possessive partners for doing so.

The author stresses Nigeria’s patriarchal culture where men largely control women’s sexuality and dominate decision making in the family. Thus she concludes that educational initiatives targeted at men would be most effective at regionally decreasing violence against women and concurrently increasing the use of contraception. Therefore, his angle of domestic violence relates to the health aspect of women who suffers from domestic violence which, is an aspect of domestic violence that is very much neglected. The shortcoming of this work was that it left out the roles that NGOs can play in managing D.V.

In the opinion of Bakare and Asuquo et al, the incidence of domestic violence in Nigeria has made the potentials of women to be under explored and in essence resulting in social injustice to the women who make up half of the Nigeria population. They quoted the W.H.O report of 2005 to determine the prevalence of domestic violence in Sub-Sahara Africa countries and it was discovered that it ranges from 36 to 71 percent. While, in the 2016 United Nations Global data base on domestic violence in Nigeria shows that Lifetime Physical and/or Sexual Intimate Partner Violence :16 %, Physical and/or Sexual Intimate Partner Violence in the last 12 months : 11 %, Lifetime Non-Partner Sexual Violence : 2 % , Child Marriage :44 % , Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting :18 % and with and overall global ranking of 118 (<http://evaw-global-database.unwomen.org/en/countries/africa/nigeria>).

From these findings, it is discovered that as at 2016 the highest percentage was child marriage which is still prevalent in the northern part of Nigeria. They identified the causes of domestic violence in Nigeria as cultural and religious practices, economic and financial dependence, the low rate of Nigerian women participation in Politics and inadequate government intervention and follow up despite having put in place programmes such as Better life for Rural Women and Family Support Programme intended to

improve the condition of Nigerian Women. From current happenings, it is obvious that these programmes have failed to fulfill their purpose. They further went ahead to state that the NGOs in their own little way in advocating for right of women and children have created awareness but are rather not taking into consideration the public health impact that results from domestic violence (p.12). This is one of the shortcomings of the NGOs in managing domestic violence in Nigeria and which is what this research has outlined as an objective, to pinpoint the shortcomings and provide possible solutions. This work also failed to point out the impact that can be made by NGOs as regards to proffering solutions to DV.

Domestic abuse was recognized as a significant public health issue “affecting 1:3 women and 1:6 men, having a major impact on those directly affected and their families and campaigns to tackle it have historically focused on victim support and crime reduction rather than prevention” (Champs public health and Care Collaborative, 2016). Likewise, according to the Center for Disease Control and Prevention,

“The focus of public health is on the health, safety and well-being of entire populations. A unique aspect of the field is that it strives to provide the maximum benefit for the largest number of people. The field also emphasizes input from diverse sectors as collective action on the part of these stakeholders can help in addressing problems like violence”

It went further to propose four steps in which public health approach which is rooted in scientific method can be applied to violence and other health problems that may affect the population.

1. Define and monitor the problem: the first step in preventing violence is to understand the “who”, “what”, “where” and “how” associated with it. Understanding the magnitude of the problem involves analyzing data such as the number of violence related behaviours, injuries, and deaths. Data can be used to demonstrate how frequently violence occurs, where it occurs, trends, and who the victims and perpetrators are. These data can be obtained from police reports, medically examined files, vital records, hospital charts, registries, population-based surveys and other sources.
2. Identify risk and protective factors; it is important to note that although victims are never responsible for the harm inflicted upon them, the risk factor which is the characteristics that increases the likelihood of a person becoming a victim or perpetrator of violence needs to be identified. Also, protective factors which are the characteristics that decrease the likelihood of a person becoming a victim or perpetrator of violence because it provides a buffer against risk.
3. Develop and test prevention strategies which has to do with implementation
4. Assure widespread adoption has to deal with evaluation of strategies Implemented in order to assess result and effectiveness of the strategies.

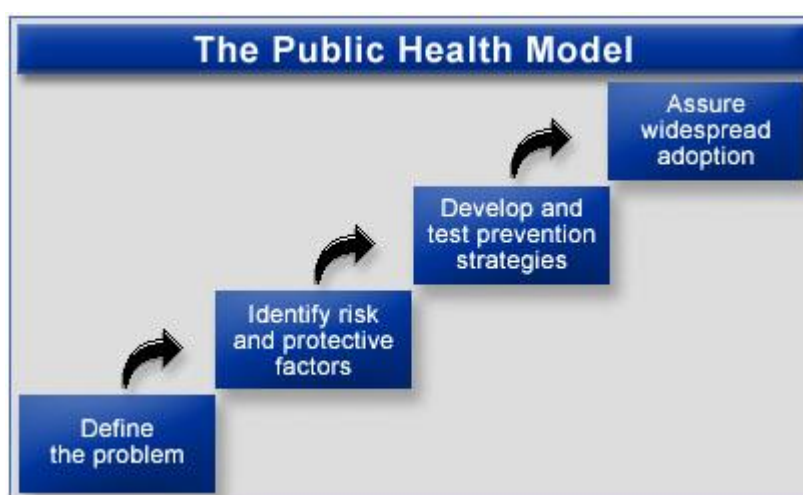


Figure 1. A four Step Public Health Approach to solving Domestic Violence, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, February 20, 2018

Socio-cultural Approach

In the Shukumisa Report (March, 2017) on sexual violence it was stated that the sexual offences and Domestic Violence Acts are the pillars of South Africa Legislative Response to Gender Based Violence. Therefore, these Acts are the precursor to the aid that should be given to victims. The Thuthuzela care center works along side NGOs to bring about speedy services and restitution to victims of such violence. However, it was discovered that incidences were under reported due to some factors such as lack in the judicial criminal system, perceived poor quality of services and limited access to transportation due to high fees charged among others. It was equally discovered that the rate of this sexual violence in South Africa has increased overtime despite the Act, the roles of NGOs and Thuthuzela Care Center. The recommendations given focused on the Victims, Thuthuzela Care Centers and NGOs within the Care Center without recourse to other NGOs outside the Care Center and it also did not give direct recommendation on how to enhance the roles played by NGOs specifically to Domestic violence but rather on Sexual Gender Based Violence which is just an arm of Domestic Violence.

Srivastava and Austin (2005) in their article, "Women and Non-Governmental Organisation in Developing Countries" took note of the fact that generally, women are worse off than men in the developing countries especially in Sub-Saharan region of Africa due to the entrenched system of patriarchy, religion, gender differences, culture and biological norms. In many south Asian and Islamic countries, the violence against women is perceived as private family matter by the law enforcement system and as a result women continue to suffer in silence. The roles women assume in a given society may change over time but their subordination does not. Women are socialized to internalize subordination which, in turn, shapes their destinies and psyche. The pattern of oppression among the women are sexual mutilation of girls, trafficking of women for prostitution in Asia, killed to gain control of dowry and so on.

The different types of interventions being undertaken by NGOs to address the oppression and empower women in the developing countries are development interventions and advocacy interventions. Also, the three modes of oppression identified includes subjugation, isolation and exploitation. However, many NGOs provide human services as well as advocacy services for the rights and needs of women. This goes to show that the current trend of increase in domestic violence in Sub-Saharan Africa is as a result of the deep rooted socio-cultural, religious, economic and biological factors that have led to the marginalization of women and brutalization of women. In an attempt to defend themselves, it has caused a reverse in violence being perpetrated by the women against men although violence against women is still very much higher.

Marisa London (2016) in her work titled "A Cultural Approach to Domestic Violence" examined the socio-cultural determinants such as the need to silence the occurrence of rape, preserve female virginity and privatize the crime in order to safeguard family honor and reputation in the Muslim society using the case of Pakistan. According to her, these determinants are the most important reason for the recurrence of violence and the personal consequences experienced by the survivors. She stated that the goal is not to change the pre-existing culture but instead, to understand domestic violence even among social activists as an issue that must be combatted with relation to individual culture despite being an issue that cuts across boundaries. For her, "Muslim women have the same practices and beliefs, and face the same hindrances, as women of other religious backgrounds. In conclusion, she stated "that domestic violence is neither a Muslim nor a woman's problem, but a sociocultural problem".

Ali and Gavino (2008) in their work "Violence Against Women in Pakistan. A framework for analysis" presented a framework to analyze sexual and partner violence in Pakistan. Their approach is aimed at acknowledging the various factors which influence violence against women and apply their findings with respect to causes and effects to create positive solutions. A diagrammatic presentation of this framework can be seen below:

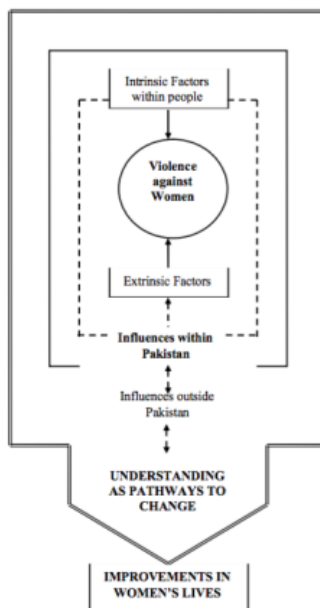


Figure 1. Intrinsic factors within people, extrinsic factors, socio-economic-political and cultural system of Pakistan and influences of surrounding countries as determinants of violence against women.

Figure 2. Intrinsic factors within people, extrinsic factors, socio-economic, political and cultural system of Pakistan and influences of surrounding countries as determinants of violence against women. Source: Ali and Gavino "Violence Against Women in Pakistan. A Framework Analysis" December 27, 2008.

In the opinion of David Oladeji (2015), "many cultures hold that men have the right to control their wives behavior and those women who challenge that right, even by asking for household money or expressing the needs of the children, maybe punished. Studies have shown that violence is frequently viewed as physical chastisement-the husband's right to 'correct' an erring wife" while, in other cultures, such acts of violence are seen as acts of love or demonstration of love. These acts of violence are further culturally justified as women are deemed to be the private property of their husband after the husband pays the high and tasking bride price along with other requirements which may differ according to the various cultures. He stated that "despite the high cost of domestic violence, almost every society in the world has social institutions that legitimize, obscure and deny abuse. The same acts that will be punished if directed at an employer, a neighbor, or an acquaintance, often go unchallenged when men direct them at women, especially within the family".

Socio-psychological Approach

In the work of Wendt and Zanettino (2015), they made use of feminist theory under the socio-psychological approach. The work re-examines the centrality of gender in DV both as a concept and as an element of lived experiences. It starts with analyzing the circuitous theorizing of feminist theory over the years which, is the shift from a focus on male structural power or patriarchy as the cause of domestic violence to a focus on social constructions and identities. From this angle, it then went back to a renewed interest in patriarchy and gender oppression.

The book is focused on women's lives and it takes into account the diversity of women's lives and the way that this diversity can variously impact on women's experiences of violence and abuse using the refugee women, Aboriginal women, mothers, religious women, women with intellectual disabilities, lesbian and so on. They utilized the research work of others such as semi-structured interviews and informal conversations with one hundred human service workers spanning over fifteen years of researching domestic violence.

However, their weakness was not taking into account the environmental impact on domestic violence and also they neglected the role played or that can be played by NGOs in preventing or curing DV. This, is the main gap to be covered in this research work. However, their strength was that they recognised women were more at the receiving end of DV than the men.

In their book 'Death By Domestic Violence: preventing the murder and murder suicide', Worman and Roberts (2009) supported my rational for undertaking this research when they stated that "In early

1980's, due to the grass root movements and domestic violence, services, partner homicide rates have reduced considerably in the United States. Women no longer have to choose murder as an escape route from battery. In the United States, over 1,000 women and over 300 men are killed annually by such violence. These figures used to be about 1000 deaths for each gender." So, in their opinion, the establishment of DV hotlines and women's shelters are saving the lives of men predominantly. This is the strength of this work.

It went further to emphasize that the interest of the public and the government is on the death and solving the murders as well as sentencing the culprits but nothing further is said concerning the issue of domestic violence. But the weakness of this work was that it was relying on government intervention through provision of shelters and follow up service which do not have significance here in Africa because of our developing nature. However, NGOs are there to take up this function and yet we still experience spousal murders/killings. They insisted that the rate of women killing their men is sparse and when it is done, it is for self-defense unlike that of men which is to cause serious harm and keep the woman under his control. Causes such as "Lack of employment, the escalation of violence, forced sex, substance abuse, access to a gun, a pending breakup, patriarchal dominance, explosive violence, extreme possessiveness, jealousy, and a pathological fear of rejection by his wife or partner" were listed as the key ingredients leading to spousal killings in the United States. This is another gap because although the cause may seem similar to that of Africa, the peculiarities obtained in Africa are not present in their research.

It is important to note that the literary works reviewed above did not use a clear cut approach, meaning they tend to use so many approaches in analyzing domestic violence. But, have been categorized in this article based on the dominant approach in their work. However, this article makes use of the sociological approach which is the influence of NGOs on D.V while taking note of other approaches.

Theoretical Framework

There are so many theories that have been developed in a bid to explain the underlying cause in the surge of violence against women whether in the home (i. e domestic violence) or outside the home. These theories can be subsumed into three major theories; the feminist or Societal-Structural Theory, psychological theory and sociological theory. These theories help us to understand why human beings behave violently and why women tend to often be the victims of this violent behaviour mainly perpetrated by their male partners.

The Feminist Theory or Societal-Structural Theory

The feminist theory emerged during the active political movement for women back in the 1970s (Tandon, Neeru: 2008 p.23-24). The fundamental goal of feminist theory of domestic violence is to understand the extent of women's oppression in term of race, gender, class and sexual preference and how to equally change it (Tandon, Neeru, 2008, p. 41). According to this theory, male intimate partners who use violence, do so to control and limit the independence of their women partners. Societal traditions, norms and beliefs of male dominance (patriarchy) support and sustain the inequities that exist in relationships just like it was in the days of the old and is still very much in existence today as well (Michael Niss, 2017). Also, it has been identified that the common elements in all the different types of violence against women are gender and power (Misra & Preeti, 2007 p. 226).

Furthermore, according to Cook (1995), advocates of feminist theory argue that "domestic violence is systematic and a structural mechanism of patriarchal control of women that is built on male superiority and female inferiority, sex stereotyped roles and expectations and economic, social and political predominance of men and dependency of women" (Cook, 1995, p.120).

In conclusion, this theory is very essential for the discussion and research on DV because women are the most affected. The feminist radicals, as well as liberals have discovered that the socialization of women and men breeds inequality and disparity which, leads to violence against women. The men feel the need to use violence to prove their strength and maintain their dominance over women. This theory serves as a guide in the course of data collection in this research work as it highlights important factors for consideration in the course of interviewing respondents and in analyzing their responses.

Psychological Theory

According to various studies especially that of Sigmund Freud who is the founding father of psychoanalysis which is a method of treating mental illness and also a theory which explains human behavior. Battering is the result of childhood abuse, a personality trait (such as the need to control), a personality disturbance (such as borderline personality), psychopathology (such as anti-social personality) or a psychological disorder or problem (such as post-traumatic stress, poor impulse control, low self-esteem, or substance abuse). The Psychiatric/Psychopathological model, often referred to as the medical model, developed during the 1960, with "discovery" of child abuse (Swanger & Peteosky, 2003, p. 33). This model equally provides a micro level analysis of family violence and according to Psychopathological perspective family violence, it is the result of individual's psychopathologies which is caused by issues such as mental illness, personality disorders, and alcoholism. However, it was criticized on the ground that it reduces offender's responsibility for their action and minimizes the role of social structure in perpetuating violence in the society (Lee, Sebold. et.al., 2003, p. 230). Being physically abusive is seen as a symptom of underlying emotional problems. Parental abuse, rejection and failure to meet a child's dependence needs can be the psychological source of battering. People with these underlying problems may choose partners with whom they can re-enact the dysfunctional relationship, which they had with their parents (Misra, Preeti, 2007, p. 232).

According to psychologist Donald Dutton there are two types of abusive personalities. In the first type, the abuser has "borderline personality organization" hence, experiences feeling of emptiness, fear of being alone and insecure attachment to others which can be described as an obsessive compulsive disorder. He stated that people who perpetrate domestic violence as a result of borderline personality disorder tend to use violence in an expressive and impulsive fashion. In the second type of abused personality, the perpetrator is characterized by psychopathic traits such as shallow effect and frequent manipulation of others. He stated that people with these personality traits are more likely than others to engage in serious violence both within and outside of the family, and their violence is instrumentally designed to gain control over others (Fisher, Lab Stenven, 2010, p. 313). And that is why women who are often considered the weaker party are often victimized, at the receiving end of this violence.

In conclusion, this theory helps to understand the way the perpetrators of DV think and what inward reaction or experiences push them to commit such an act against their partner. It equally helps to analyze the actions as relayed by the respondents in the course of interview.

Sociological Theory

The Sociological theory is a theory which seeks to explain these violent behaviours as a manifestation of social interactions, structure and the environment rather than individual pathology. Therefore, this theory clearly juxtaposes the psychological theory which relies on the individual pathology as an explanation for his actions. This theory varies but often contains some postulations that intimate violence is a product of learned behavior (Michael Niss, 2017).

One sociological theory suggests that violence is learned within a family, and a partner-victim stays caught up in a cycle of violence and forgiveness. If the victim does not leave, the batterer views the violence as a way to produce positive results that is to achieve their goals or getting things done. Children of these family members may learn the behavior from their parents (boys may develop into batterers and girls may become battering victims) (Michael Niss, 2017). A different sociological theory suggests that lower income subcultures will show higher rates of intimate abuse, as violence may be a more acceptable form of settling disputes in such subcultures.

A variant of this theory is that violence is inherent in all social systems and people with resources (financial, social contacts, prestige) use these to control family members, while those without resources resort to violence and threats to accomplish this goal. However, there have been criticisms leveled at this theory of violence. One is that it fails to account for the reality that wife abuse can occur even without the abuser coming from an abusive family or otherwise being socialized to regard violence as an acceptable behaviour. Another criticism against this theory indicate that Domestic Violence may be equally as prevalent among higher educated or higher income levels, but is more easily hidden due to greater resources and more incentive for such victim of abuse to keep it in the family (Flowers, Barri. R, 2000 p.181).

In conclusion, this theory is very crucial to this research work because DV cannot be studied outside a context. The environment has a strong influence and this theory helps bring to light how the perpetrators of DV and victims are influenced by the society right from child hood to adulthood. This will equally give an explanation as to why victims choose to remain with an abuser until she/he is finally killed.

Research Method

This article makes use of the qualitative research method- “an exploratory method concerned with subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions behavior” (Kothari, 2004). It is aimed at gaining an understanding of the underlying reasons, opinions, and motivation. “Research using this method is a function of researcher’s insights and impressions. Such an approach to research generates results either in non-quantitative form or in the form which are not subjected to rigorous quantitative analysis. Generally, the techniques of focus group interviews, projective techniques and depth interviews are used” (Kothari, 2004).

The main qualitative technique utilized in this article is an unstructured interview- a set of unstructured (open-ended) questions designed for use to guide in the gathering of the necessary information from respondents who are drawn from the general public in the study area.

The questions were intentionally designed to be open-ended to allow the respondents to freely express their opinions on the research subject without restrictions from the researcher. Some other techniques explored in this work were observation and Secondary Sources- ready-made data in the research to complement the primary data. These include books and other print materials and internet materials.

The reason for utilizing this research method is due to the fact that it gives the importance of looking at variables in the natural setting in which they are found, as, it seeks to build a holistic, largely narrative, description to inform the researcher’s understanding of a social or cultural phenomenon (Prashant; 2013). The author started out by picking interviewees and asking questions that allowed them to explain and give their opinion as much as they liked while, the author guided them with sets of questions in other for them not to stray so much from the topic in question.

After the interview, came the observation technique, in which, the author studied the demeanor of the interviewee before, during and after the interview. In some cases, the author engaged in general discussions with the interviewee after the interview to corroborate facts and opinions given during the interview. Where there are data gotten from the personal research of the interviewees, the interviewer endeavored to incorporate this while analyzing the data of the interviewee in the course of the interview.

The article focuses on the South-South and South-West region of Nigeria, narrowing it down to Edo State (South-South), Lagos (South-West) and Ogun State (South-West). It has been further narrowed down to households and NGOs in the urban centers of these states which is Benin-City, Abeokuta, and Lagos. The author all together interviewed 15 respondents randomly picked from these states. This study area is chosen because of the recent surge in spousal murders in these areas.



Figure 7. Map of Nigeria, Geoscience News and Information, <https://www.geology.com/world/nigeria> 28th June 2019

Nigeria Information: Nigeria is located in Western Africa. Nigeria is bordered by the Gulf of Guinea, Benin to the West, Niger to the North, and Chad and Cameroon to the East. Nigeria has a total area of 923,768 (356,669 sq mi) (WorldAtlas.com; 2019) making it the world's 32nd largest country after Tanzania. Nigeria has 36 states and a Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, with Lagos as its commercial and largest city. According to the 2016 WHO Report, Nigeria has a population of 185,990,000 and there are over 250 ethnic groups in Nigeria with the major ethnic groups being Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa.

The first interview was with a female named Amanda (Name has been changed for anonymity), who had experienced D.V first hand while she was single and working in an environment where she was sexually harassed violently by the boss. She felt D.V does not just occur in the home but other familiar places such as the workplace. The irony of her story was that she was working in an international organization that was fighting against D.V and helping to rescue girls and women from the scourge but meanwhile, right inside the organization, D.V was taking place and despite the fact that there were laid down systems to report such, cases were never treated the way they should and even when she reported, she was advised to keep quiet otherwise she would be sent out even before the completion of her contract. In her words, "I had no choice but to keep quiet because I needed the work experience and my contract still had a long way to go, I did not want a bad record or my contract being terminated, so I tolerated it." She went further to state that many others had experienced what she had experienced even before she arrived and while she was there but the same nonchalant measure was applied. The perpetrators of this abuse were both men and women against the various opposite sex.

The second interview was with a man called Emediong who is the founder of the Youth Alliance for Peaceful and United Community (YAPUC) Network in Akwa Ibom, Nigeria. His organization has handled one case of domestic violence since its creation but has also conducted research on D.V in homes in the state. He stated that the procedure they used was a questionnaire whereby, one was given to the wife and another was given to the husband to verify what the wife has said. He stated that the organization did the work on domestic violence just once and that there has been no effect of NGOs on the issue of D.V in Nigeria because there is no follow up or evaluation on their work. In his words, "Nothing has been done at all".

He went further to state that the major challenges NGOs face are that, D.V is considered a personal/family issue and as such, it should not be handled publicly which is, the interference of NGOs. He does not know of any laws or agreements signed by Nigeria on D.V against women but he knows of a friend who married an illiterate woman, trained her in school and she got a better job than the husband which resulted in the man beating the wife constantly out of spite and jealousy. The woman is scared of reporting him or telling anyone because she has nowhere to run to and so the beatings and constant physical and mental mutilations continue till date. He further stated that from their research, they discovered that these men who are perpetrators of D.V have no idea what they are doing so.

The third interview was with a female activist's Blessing Best, who runs an NGO in Lagos, Nigeria, for the less privileged and not against domestic violence. But, she had a strong opinion on the fact that NGOs tackling Domestic Violence were making progress because at least they are giving the victims a safe avenue to speak up and help them find safety. She also thinks the government should be involved in the affairs of NGOs concerning domestic violence. She has admitted to seeing a few cases and those victims do not resort to NGOs at first instance but only when it is recommended to them that they resort to getting help from NGOs.

The fourth interviewee who goes by the name Olaoluwa Abagun the founder of "the Girl Pride Circle Initiative" in Lagos Nigeria, with a focus on access to education and prevention of sexual violence in communities, defined D.V as physical or sexual violence. She stated she was almost raped by her cousin at her grandparent's house at the age of 8. Since the creation of her NGO, she has referred over 10 girls and women who have been sexually violated to NGOs who could take action against the perpetrator. She went further to state that progress has been made by NGOs in the area of awareness, increase in public outcry and formal reporting (with a focus on sexual violence). She further proposed that the Government should be involved in the affairs of NGOs in the management of D.V but should not over-regulate NGOs.

The fifth interviewee, a banker by the name Eze, married and from Edo State stated that D.V is not just between husband and wife but also between parents and children, and amongst siblings in the home. She stated she is aware NGOs are tackling D.V but does not know of any. In her words “from my husband, I have not experienced D.V except my brother and mother while growing up. It occurred as a series of beatings from my elder brother due to suspicion of going out to see a guy and other allegations of waywardness as he does not want me to talk to the opposite sex. My mom beats me whenever I do not do what she says and it got to a point I started doubting if she was actually my mother and I even contemplated suicide.” “I witnessed a lot of fighting between my parents growing up as a result of my dad not dropping enough money for food, when my mum tries to advise my father on what to do concerning his flirting with the opposite sex, when my mum interrupts him while talking and also when my mum is asking my dad to stop his cheating lifestyle which always earned her a beating with swollen eyes and bleeding lips. Fighting was generally the order of the day. Even around me, I know of a case which even resulted in the death of their child as they mistakenly stepped on their child while fighting and the child died.” Diana stated that D.V can lead to injury on the wife’s eyes and the wife parks out and returns to her family in some cases, until the family holds a meeting to resolve the issue after which, the wife returns to the home. She encouraged this form rather than NGO because she does not believe in divorce at the expense of the children and also due to her experience with her parents who are still very much together today despite the violence perpetrated on the mother by the father. Diana, however, believes that Government can do a lot of good by assisting to tackle D.V because D.V was not rampant in the old days on like in the current era when couples are now killing each other and we even see a spouse killing his or her children along sides himself or herself. She went further to state that this leads to the death of resourceful youths and affects the economy of the country as larger parts of the youths are dying daily.

The sixth interviewee by name Sunday Ellu, a single man, residing in Ogun State, in his 30s sees D.V as only the beating of the woman by the man and the man by the woman in a marriage and his words, “I do not know of any NGO fighting against domestic violence since I have been reading”. He has never experienced D.V because in his opinion, “I am a man and cannot be beaten by a woman” but he believes a man can experience D.V from a fellow man and not a woman. He agrees government should be involved in D.V but only partially as many of it in his opinion seems to be a psychological issue.

The seventh interviewee by name Mr. Isreal E. O from Benin but resident in Ogun, Nigeria and married, expressed passionately his view that ‘D.V is a versatile subject because it cuts across a whole lot of aspect of the family and most times a lot of people see domestic violence as something against the women but, it is also against men and children.’ He acknowledged that the most rampant is indeed that perpetrated by the husband to the wife and that, a lot of women are raped and held against their consent due to a religious and traditional dogma which states that divorce is not the way out despite the swollen face and mutilated body. D.V has made women be confined to the home permanently, their husband preventing them from pursuing their career and going into society to make an impact. He is also of the opinion that women encourage domestic violence when they fail to speak out when asked and they also perpetrate D.V against themselves. He noted he was aware of women being rescued by NGOs but had no name of such an NGO in mind but that their voices are becoming well heard. He went further to state that when these NGOs go out, they do not want publicity hence, these NGOs are not known by name but merely heard.

The eight interviewees by name Mr. Obasuyi says that D.V is as a result of extramarital affairs which causes dispute among couples and also when a man is not responsible in taking care of the household including the house help which may be residing with them. He further expressed that NGOs have a lot to play in making sure that D.V is taken as a family matter and as such, NGOs are not meant to interfere in such family matters but rather, should interfere as a last resort. He, however, states that he does not know of any NGO personally although he has seen D.V personally from the close relationships between boyfriend and girlfriend and also married couples in the form of beatings which has resulted in killings. He believes that the government should be involved due to the security aspect that D.V may pose to society. When asked if he believes men experience D.V, he stated that “I believe men also experience D.V but I cannot experience D.V because I know how to control my home”.

The ninth Interviewee by name Mrs. Adenuga Mary who is an activist with an NGO in Lagos Stated “D.V can be related to marriage where a woman is being abused by the husband, parents to child, beating of

children like a post I saw yesterday on Facebook where a mother beat her child mercilessly because she could not write one to 200. And the injury inflicted on the child was such that almost claimed the child's eyes. When there is no more tolerance in the marriage then there is the occurrence of violence. The rate of D.V has reduced to 5% according to my last research through a church program held in my church in April 2018." She claimed she has never been a victim of violence but "I have met a woman who works with NGO and I have referred a case to her before. One case was when I met a lady who wanted to leave her husband because he was beating her over and over again. I did not know her before and I was interested and told her she should not leave but fight it some other way. They are ways the NGOs can treat it legally and he will stop beating her." But according to her, the victim never called the NGO lady. She believes a woman may be the main cause of the D.V and there are times too that the man does not tolerate. "You make sure you do everything he needs but if you cannot tolerate it any longer then call family or pastor and if after that, you can leave the marriage for good but the children factor should be considered." Lastly, she stressed that the Government should be involved in tackling domestic violence because "they are people living as humans but they are animals". It is what everybody has to do together.

The tenth interviewee called Mr. Alaga from Ogun State firmly asserted that. men do not experience domestic violence because they are strong enough to protect themselves Hence, women experience D.V more than men. In his opinion, D.V is how you treat your fellow neighbors especially women, how you value them and what you think about them. When asked how D.V is perpetrated, he replied "I only know that D.V is perpetrated through beating and insulting and I do not think D.V has reduced. The only time I can remember when I practiced D.V was when my sister offended me by not going to errands for me. She came back home and was washing glass cups and I asked her why she did not go to where I sent her. I used twister to hit her and in turn, she used the glass cup to injure me. Later on, when I got back from the hospital, I beat her up and lock her up in the room." But as a married man, he claimed he has never laid hands on his wife.

The 11th interviewee happens to be a victim of D.V who has been married for the past 35 years and all through this time has experienced D.V in various ways. For anonymity, she will be called Mrs. H. Mrs. H got married to her husband in the '80s and according to her she never knew such experiences had such a term (Domestic Violence) ascribed to it. She stated she has been abused by her husband, her late mother-in-law, and sister-in-law. The husband verbally demeaned her by calling her "stupid" "fool" "illiterate" and "idiot" whenever they had a misunderstanding. He equally cheated on her with several women and when she challenged him, it led to constant beating with the use of broom, belts and even the flinging of stools and, she would get bruises and wounds that will take her to the hospital for medical treatment. She could not seek help because she did not know if such NGOs existed at the time and she was forced to bear and remain in the marriage due to her love for her children, societal pressures and religious beliefs. Mrs. H who was at her shop during the interview further stated that she had to labor to feed and carter for herself and her kids all alone because the husband at the time had abandoned them. In her words (as translated in English) "there had been no time I was ever happy in this marriage. He constantly told me I was not good enough because I was not educated like his mistresses. Whenever I managed to cook from the little proceeds from my shop, he would kick the pot right off the fire because it is not up to what he wants. He was aggressive and I lived in constant fear and pain". She said she is happy that such matters are being addressed these days even though she does not know of any NGO tackling such matters. She is however aware of the killings that result from D.V and she could have been a victim as well if not for 'God'.

The 12th interviewee called Mrs. O, who is recently married and pregnant, was recommended to me due to her experience and that of her younger sister in the hands of her ex-boyfriend who constantly battered her with blows, clubs, and kicks and slaps her at intervals in the course of the relationship. The worst happened when she decided to leave the relationship as he berated her phone with calls threatening to end her life if she does not take him back. This assault and battery continued for over 6 months and the sister was forced to relocate for her safety and health of the mind. However, the 12th interview stated that she witnessed all these at first hand because she was still in the home at that time but that she had never experienced D.V directly. She stated that such incidences made her aware of the extent of the danger associated with D.V stating "GOD saved my sister from the hands of that animal called Moses". She stated the cause as pride and ego because he had never been dumped by a woman in his previous relationships. When asked if they engaged the services of an NGO, she stated although they

knew NGOs handle such matters, they did not contact any because it was something they wanted to handle themselves. But she does not know of any NGO she could have contacted anyways.

The 13th interviewee, Kathlyn Eyitemi married and resident in Lagos State and also the founder of Girls Advocate which has branches in Lagos, Benin and Port Harcourt believes that D.V only occurs within the home. She said she had experienced D.V indirectly through the ordeal of her mother while she was still a child. She stated she has encountered a countless number of cases of D.V but only a few times has she been reached for help by a victim. She further explained that the work of NGOs is limited due to funding and that although the government is already involved in tackling D.V, there is still more that can be done. She cited the dependency of victims and economic issues as a major challenge to managing D.V.

The 14th interviewee who by name Mrs. Patience (not real name), has been a victim of domestic violence for the past 10 years in her marriage. I met her on one of many visits to the Girls Advocate Office in Lagos. She had resort to seek help as the husband's behavior of brutalizing and constantly stripping her naked in public while beating her has increased instead of subsiding despite her traditional efforts to change things. In her words, "Mr. A started beating me barely a year after our traditional wedding whenever I insisted on us going for our church wedding as we have earlier agreed on. He would scream and say all sorts of things like, am I planning on killing him and that the traditional wedding is enough. That was how we kept on having disagreements over little quarrels and he started beating me. At first, it was just lapping and push but later on, he would use his belts on me and strip me naked. I tried to avoid arguing with him, cooking his favorite meal and never refusing him sex but nothing seems to work. I cannot bear it anymore as I am scared for my life and would not want to die and leave my child motherless as just a few days ago, I heard on the news of a lady that died as a result of the maltreatment and beating she got from her husband."

During the interview, she got emotional and I had to pause the interview up to three times for her to calm down. She equally showed her wounds from the beatings she got from her husband and she stated that she has now been deprived access to her children and that is part of the reason why she came to Girls advocate to help out. When asked how she came across Girls Advocate, she said she was referred by someone on Facebook but prior; she knew there were NGOs in charge of Domestic violence but never knew how to contact them.

The last interviewee is a lady who has been abused sexually by the husband in her words "my husband does not understand what it means for a woman to be tired, I have never seen a man that likes sex like my hubby, it has been one year and six months we got married and it has not been easy for me, I only breathe when my husband travels and I do not have a life of my own. My husband can only enjoy sex after he beats me and sees me in pain. Anytime I refuse to indulge him, he would sleep in the guest room. One night I said no to him because I was pregnant, he made sure he forced himself on me, he even hit me during the process, but he apologized later on...." She is too ashamed to involve both families and so far, the few persons she has spoken to did not fail to remind her that it is her matrimonial duty to satisfy her husband. She was asked to stay put and tolerate it. When asked why she is speaking out now, she said she felt the need to speak out because she fears for her life and has been aware of the recent upsurge in deaths resulting from Domestic Violence. She said she has been aware of the activities of NGOs but she was scared of losing her marriage and what people will say. She insisted that she is still not ready to leave her husband but she wants to seek help for him so that he can change. She equally believes that government should not be involved in domestic violence matter, as it is a family issue and should be worked out and resolved internally.

Result Analysis

This part of the article highlights the findings gathered from the interviews and analyses it using the theoretical framework and empirical approach previously examined. The rate of domestic violence might reduce when there is a proper evaluation of the activities performed by NGOs to help victims of domestic violence overcome such situations. From findings, it is not the role NGOs play that is lacking in totality but equally, the uncooperative nature of the parties involved and the slow nature of implementation of policies and laid down laws. Some of the interviewees like the NGOs and Ordinary persons (not acclaimed victims) could be observed to be holding back some information as to whether their NGO is

making progress concerning domestic violence and also whether the avalanche of NGOs have been making progress concerning D.V.

While, some admitted that a lot still needs to be done in the light of the upsurge in spousal murders, others stated that the NGOs are only progressing in the light of advocacy (awareness). Meanwhile, the ordinary persons were manifestly seen to hold back information on whether they have ever been victims of domestic violence or have ever perpetrated domestic violence. Only one out of the men interviewed admitted to have physically battered the sister but never the wife. The married women all claimed to have never been victims except one who claimed she has never been a victim from the aspect of her husband but from her mother and elder brother while growing up.

This finding is seen to be in line with that of Carolyn Rebecca Block (2003) where she stated that most of the victims in her study made recourse to informal help (talking to someone) but, the difference is that, while women in her study Area (America) equally sought help from, counseling, medical personnel and police, in the author's study area- Nigeria (Africa), victims of abuse do more of seeking informal help by consulting family heads, friends and relatives. Even in cases where matters are brought before the police, they are willingly withdrawn at first instance by the victim.

However, author's findings and that of Carolyn Rebecca Block coincide when she stated that it is only in severe cases of threatened fatality that victims seek formal help (medical, police) but rarely counseling agencies and NGOs. Also, from rate of tolerance of domestic violence chart, domestic violence is seen to have skyrocketed in Africa as victims do not perceive domestic violence from their partners as abuse but rather as a religious and cultural norm. This is why the interviewees did not own up to the fact that they may have experienced domestic violence in their relationship with their partners but are quick to recount incidences they have seen or heard of.

The author in the course of carrying out the interview and observation further discovered that these interviewees have heard of NGOs who deal with D.V and have heard of the cases treated by these NGOs but cannot remember the names of these NGOs either, can they remember a particular case treated by these NGOs. None except one has referred a case to an NGO, and the victims themselves do not run to NGOs in the first instance.

All of them believed that they can change, tolerate and persevere in the face of D.V until it has gotten to a point of life and death. Although all admitted to having seen, witnessed or heard of cases where spouses and even their children die as a result of D.V. but, from observation during the interviews which occurred in the homes, shops, and offices of the interviewees, one could tell they purposely left out some sides of their own experiences.

The common saying that comes to the lips of the interviewees when asked why they do not sought NGOs or if they would seek help from NGOs in the case that they experience D.V? is that "there are other ways to kill a rat" meaning they would not recourse to NGOs and risk their case going public or seek divorce (which it is likely to amount to in severe cases of threatened fatality) because they would not want to be seen as failures by the society and their family.

When asked what other methods that can still keep the marriage, they mention calling family meetings, seeking the help of pastors or traditional rulers for intervention and counseling, which are all informal methods. If you go further to ask what will be the next solution if all of these fails, the interviewee gives no answer but still stand by the fact that leaving or seeking divorce from one's violent partner is not an option and that they would not explore or encourage any victim to explore such an option.

Therefore, the reason many of these victims of domestic violence do not seek help from NGOs even though they have the knowledge that NGOs exist that tackle such matters is because of the fear that the NGO may most likely propose leaving the marriage or relationship and seeking divorce.

The 12th interviewee claimed to have never experienced D.V but during the course of the interview in her home, the author engaged in informal discussion which revealed she had cried all night because she had a fight with her husband who was accusing her of something she did not do. Even though she was pregnant, he slapped her on the face and she could not sleep even after he had come to apologize to her. She said that was not the first time he had done so and that it always results in her crying every time.

These tallies with the sociological theory where a partner-victim stays caught up in a cycle of violence and forgiveness. This also is part of the risk factors identified by Carolyn Rebecca Block (2003) and Margaret A. Zahn (2003) that past violence and frequency of violence breeds the eventual fatality of either of the spouses. The woman can get tired of the cycle of abuse and suddenly retaliates by dealing a fatal blow to the husband. While, the man may continue in his cycle of violence and gradually advance to the stage where he physically assaults the woman in a severe and fatal manner as can be seen in the figure below.



Figure 8: Cycle of Violence, Human Resource Network, www.humanresponseresponse.org accessed 21st July, 2019

The fifth interviewee Diana equally stated during the interview that she had never experienced D.V from her husband but during the the course of the interview at her home, the author observed that she is experiencing psychological D.V from her husband and mother-in-law. The husband neglects his duties in the home, forcing her to use up all her monthly salaries without any savings, she is constantly worried and scared about the future of her kids and their daily food because the husband has refused to understand the necessary provisions that need to be made in the home monthly. All these arose because she got a car gift from her siblings to enable her to take her two kids including her stepson to school but the husband got angry and jealous she did not hand over the car to him as the head of the home and he has resulted to make her suffer until she is forced to sell the car.

This agrees with the findings of Christine Drouin, Jocelyn Lindsay, Mynan Dube et al (2012) that possessiveness and jealousy is a major factor that leads to intimate partner violence which is found in 60 per cent of the situation leading to spousal murder. While the interviewee is aware of physical violence, she is ignorant of psychological domestic violence which can be just as fatal as physical domestic violence.

Meanwhile, all the male interviewees (both single and married) claimed they have never perpetrated domestic violence against their wives and girlfriends but from further discussions outside the interview and from observation, their disposition towards women and what their female colleagues thought of them revealed that three out of the five were not truthful about having abused their wife or girlfriend. It is equally important to note that these men strongly believed that they have never and will never experience domestic violence from their wives or girlfriends except one, who believed men, can only experience D.V from a fellow man. These notions amongst others are the reasons why male domestic violence is underreported in Africa.

Analysing Result Using Theoretical Framework

Now, examining these findings using the theoretical framework, from these interviews, it is clear that society plays a huge role in forming the mentality of both genders and as such, it has created gender-specific roles which are proving difficult to change today. A man believes he has to hit his wife as a means of correction when she offends him and a woman believes she is bound to her husband till death even in the face of constant mutilation and abuse. According to Michael Niss 2017, if the victim does not leave, the batterer sees the battering (D.V) as a means of producing positive results, just like the way the husband of Diana Eze has relented in his duties knowing fully-well she is under the sociological influence to bear and suffer in silence whatever hardship he throws her way.

This is also the case with the 12th interviewee who sees nothing wrong in the slap her husband gave her the previous night nor the psychological stress she is going through even in her pregnant condition.

The 14th interviewee who has experienced D.V in the larger part of her marriage was asked why she did not leave the marriage, and she responded: "due to the stigma it would bring to my family and my children." These respondents would rather remain tolerant due to societal pressures of what is needed of a woman and what biblically/islamically has been defined as a virtuous woman than go for what they truly need. To the extent, they would rather remain quiet or seek the face of the elders of the family if it gets unbearable than to invite an NGO and risk losing their marriage.

Therefore, the fear of every married woman in Nigeria is the societal stigma of being called a divorcee or a single parent than the fear of being killed by a violent partner, hence the reason for the high rates of spousal killings in Nigeria.

Another key societal factor which many are oblivious of is the high rate of illiteracy which fuels the increase in D.V and hence, spousal killings. The few, who have heard of D.V, do not define it appropriately and hence do not know what and what constitutes D.V. Many believes it is just battering and assault of women but fails to realize there is a sexual and psychological form of it, amongst others.

NGOs are not left out of this stigma, as the society views them as agents of demoralization and corruption of the family. They also do not associate with them because of the public nature with which they conduct their affairs. Most victims of D.V want anonymity and privacy to avoid stigmatization hence; they are not bold enough to take the necessary step of engaging an NGO.

Furthermore, societal pressures such as recession, unemployment, lack of essential amenities make it difficult for these NGOs to carry out their duties because the perpetrators of D.V are most times acting out of frustration and lashing out at their victims due to these societal pressures. According to the 13th interviewee, the government is already playing a role in helping NGOs in this regard but more still has to be done with regards to the environmental and economic factors which trigger these attitudes and tendencies in the society. Illiteracy is a big factor that comes into play as these men who perpetrate D.V have no idea they are doing anything wrong but rather performing part of their duty as the head of the family.

The feminist theory is equally manifested as the interviewees are all pushed by the gender disparity that has been placed by society. The woman is deemed to be subject and inferior to the man, while the man is deemed to be superior. This is further worsened by the realization that the Nigerian society is largely patriarchal in nature and this does not give room for women to express themselves. The womanhood is based solely on being married to a man and that is why the 13th interviewee stated that the dependency of women on men is a hindrance to the performance of the duties of NGOs.

This is also the reason why the 11th interviewee has persevered in her marriage despite the various forms of D.V she has experienced and is still experiencing till today. The tenth interviewee stated she referred a matter to an NGO but that she is not in support of a woman deciding to leave her marriage no matter the abuse she is facing because, according to her there are other means to resolve this issue and this means, she clearly did not state. On the other hand, the men stood their ground that there is no way they can experience D.V because they are the men (superiority complex) and as such, they are the ones who exercise the power in the home and even if they are to experience D.V, it may be from their fellow men.

The psychological theory comes into play when one goes into the background of these interviewees. Diana Eze claimed she experienced D.V in the hands of her mom and her brothers but failed to realize she was going through the same in the hands of her husband because she was suffering under psychological D.V but sees it as a normal way of life in a marriage because of what she experienced while growing up. This proves the work of Misra, Preeti, (2007; P.232) when they said that "Being physically abusive is seen as a symptom of underlying emotional problems. Parental abuse, rejection, and failure to meet a child's dependency needs can be the psychological source of battering. People with these underlying problems may choose partners with whom they can re-enact the dysfunctional relationship, which they had with their parents." From the author's observation of the other interviewees, it is discovered as the same trend and one which most are ignorant of.

The men due to societal and environmental influences also react psychologically, for example, trauma and in the process of finding a means of release, results in carrying out D.V on their wife and children, directly or indirectly.

Furthermore, concerning the empirical literature categorized under different approaches, the interviewees including those working with NGOs have no idea of laws that have been put in place or adopted by their states to combat domestic violence against women. This is quite alarming because NGOs cannot successfully manage D.V if they do not know of provisions that can back up their case when a victim decides to go further with it. This makes it clear that many individuals and some NGOs in Nigeria do not know that D.V is a criminal and human rights issues that can be enforced. That is also why it is treated lightly with kids gloves and shelved under the “family issues” section in the government’s agenda (in terms of implementation). This should not be so, as D.V is not a private matter which should be addressed within the confines of the home. This is with special note to the fact that spousal rape though stated in the VAPP but in practice is not implemented as a crime in Nigeria.

Finally, the importance of developing policies to tackle Domestic Violence cannot be over stated because D.V is a social and political problem that must be addressed through the implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of comprehensive set of Institutional actions and measures. Nigeria as well as every country in Sub-Saharan Africa should develop policies at the macro, local government, community, and individual levels to address the causes and consequences of violence against women. At the macro level, policies aimed at eradicating violence should be drafted, and the various sectorized interventions should include specific measures on domestic violence. National laws and policies that affect areas related to equality and gender equity, such as those dealing exclusively with domestic violence, discriminatory practices, the effectiveness and efficiency of the organizations and actors involved in the solution, the costs involved, the legal bases sustaining possible initiatives and the background and institutional conditions necessary for execution of initiatives play a significant role in violence prevention at the population level. These policies aim to bring about changes in behaviors, values, and social and cultural practices in institutions, organizations, and society in general and to slowly but surely create more equal relationships between men and women.

The overall findings go to show that NGOs have improved in terms of advocacy in creating awareness but still, are yet to make impacts in terms of taking serious actions to publicly tackle D.V. A lot of people are aware D.V as a result of NGOs awareness creation but same lots are still in the dark concerning the proper action to take when they encounter D.V or have others who encounter D.V around them. This has made the work of NGOs redundant and almost like lip singing because the more awareness they create; the more spouses drop dead as a result of D.V.

All the interviewees had the common notion that NGOs should not interfere in happenings in the home and especially between married couples because it is a “family issue” but only when it is a matter of life and death. They believe the family, elders and religious leaders should be the first port of call to resolve such issues. Therefore, NGOs are sidelined by the perpetrators, victims and their families and this is why the cases of spousal killings have increased in Nigeria.

NGOs have so much they could do if given the opportunity to do so but their efforts are thwarted by religious beliefs and religious bodies, societal and family pressures as well as inadequate strategies to actively curtail and fight cases of D.V where victims are willing to go all the way, because, follow-up and evaluation is not carried out to ascertain if progress is actually being made. This, begs the question, what important processes are to be used by these NGOs to effectively manage domestic violence in Nigeria? They have to approach from the law perspective and human rights but how far can they go when the victims are psychologically trapped in a way they cannot break free from their tormentor? This will require further research.

Furthermore, only a few of the interviewees fully understood the nature and definition of domestic violence as many of them only ascribe domestic violence as physical violence especially beating hence, many of them do not even know they are perpetrating or suffering domestic violence abuse. The interviewees including those who were working with NGOs had no knowledge of the Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act 2015 made by the National Assembly of Nigeria and CEDAW adopted by Nigeria in 1985 to combat cases of violence.

The lack of knowledge is however not surprising as very few states- Ebonyi State, Edo State, Lagos State, Ekiti State, Jigawa and Cross River State have acknowledged domestic violence and passed a law against it. Meanwhile, this is just 6 states out of 37 States in Nigeria and these laws are still poorly

implemented in these states except Lagos where there is a concentration of NGOs and an established response system to tackle domestic violence.

Implications for NGOs

NGOs should approach victims of D.V discussing about the nature of the violence they have experienced- when it happened, how frequently it happened, and the kind of violence.

Also, the first incident of D.V could be fatal hence NGOs need to be aware of the risk factors for women who have not yet experienced physical violence and sensitize them accordingly as economic frustration, depression possessiveness and extreme jealousy exhibited by an intimate partner is a risk factor for possible fatal violence, even if there has been no previous violent incident. A recent abuse by their intimate partner, regardless of the severity of the incident, increases the risk of the woman being killed, or of killing her abusive partner and increasingly frequent episodes of violence by an intimate partner pose a high risk of deadly violence to the victim as well as to the abusive partner.

NGOs and other helping professionals should be aware that, by seeking help, an abused woman indicates that her situation could be serious. Hence it should be treated seriously meaning, given utmost attention.

NGOs should ask an abused woman if her partner has ever tried to choke her or grab her around the neck. Also, in incidents when someone may have been choked or strangled responding officers or NGOs should try to ensure that the person receives a medical evaluation of her condition. The answer to the common question, "why does she not leave?" is that women do leave or try to leave but are held back by societal stigma, religious pressures and care for their children who they believe should be raised in the family unit.

Furthermore, medical workers and police officers can play important roles as collaborators with NGOs in linking abused women to counseling and other community services and NGOs should not only provide support and practical advice for women thinking of leaving an abusive relationship, but should also discuss her risks if she leaves and how best to minimize those risks. This is one of the major reason why victims of domestic violence for the fear of sustenance or death if they leave their abusive partner. Since women more likely do not go to NGOs at first instance, helping agencies and NGOs need to find ways to ensure that abused women have culturally accessible and supportive resources available to them. Some women who feel trapped in an increasingly abusive relationship, with few resources, may resort to violence. It is important to find ways to intervene successfully in these situations.

Finally, helping professionals must be certain not to miss the opportunity to intervene when an abused woman reports the abuse. This is one of the short comings of NGOs as they are left with little or no resources to pursue these matters. Federation of Female Lawyers (FIDA) Medical workers, counselors, and police officers can work together to improve the responsiveness and coordination of services for women abused by a female partner.

Analysis of the results/Findings

The main objective of this research is to assess the role played by NGOs in managing domestic violence in order to solve the problem of inadequate or unavailable support to victims of domestic violence in line with laws that regulate domestic violence in Nigeria.

While, other objectives is to analyze the challenges encountered by NGOs with regards to addressing case of Domestic Violence in Nigeria and how it could be addressed; to examine the NGOs applicability of the Violence Against Persons (Prohibition Act) 2015 and any other ratified international legal instrument in addressing domestic violence.; to analyze the rate of improvement or otherwise (if any) with the involvement of these NGOs in the fight against domestic violence and how these role could be enhanced; the relationship between domestic violence and gender.

The qualitative research method was then utilized, with the main tools used being interview and observation. Data was collected from 15 respondents who comprised of victims, NGO workers and ordinary persons selected randomly within the study area. The major findings are; that the work of NGOs indeed have a great impact in determining the peace and progress in every society and as such, NGOs efforts on domestic violence can help to reduce domestic violence but, however, these efforts have been more focused on awareness than actions which are geared to rescue victims.

Also, implementations of the laws in place against D.V have not been forthcoming because most of these NGOs are not aware that these laws exist. Also, the government and the victims have equally played a role in amplifying the fatal effect of D.V by crippling the efforts made by NGOs through their unwillingness to prioritize D.V as a crucial issue disturbing economic and national peace and to seek redress in the face of D.V respectively.

Furthermore, there is a strong relationship between D.V and gender as the main perpetrators of D.V are men while the victims are mainly women. However, a small percentage of men experience D.V but few data exist on this because of the patriarchal nature of the Nigerian society where men are bred to feel superior to women, as is also the case in most parts of Sub-Saharan Africa.

Finally, the psychological and public health damage done to victims as a result of long time D.V abuse has made the work of NGO almost impossible. Meanwhile, women are the most affected of this danger and it seeps down to their children. This, eventually results in retaliation against their spouse and they end up killing their spouse or ends up getting killed. Religious and societal pressures do not also help matters as they help to shackle women to abusive relationships until their fatal end. However, the positive role that is manifestly seen to be played by NGO in all this is that most people, both literates and illiterates are now aware that D.V is a growing concern and that NGOs exist that advocates against it unlike in the past. A clear example is the Violence Against Persons bill passed into law by the Edo State government on the 12th of February 2019 after it has suffered many setbacks with previous government without being passed. The bill is said to have been lobbied by NGOs and the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) and a protest march against violence was carried out across the state.

Conclusion

From the research work extensively done and analyzed above, one can see the relevancy and interplay of the theoretical framework- feminist theory, sociological theory and psychological theory. All these do not just affect the victims and perpetrators of D.V but also the performance of the role of NGOs with respect to managing D.V. The role performed by the NGOs can only be made effective if the other parties- victim, perpetrators of D.V and government are properly oriented and willing to result to the NGOs when such cases of D.V are discovered. The right perception of NGOs needs to be put out there for them to effectively do their work. This is why you find that despite the numerous NGOs in Nigeria, few manage D.V because it is still considered a private matter within the family domain. Therefore, one can say the role of NGOs is not enough to cover all of the cases of D.V hence, the increase in spousal killings in Nigeria. Also the inadequate resources at their disposal and the unwillingness of victims to report cases or true nature of cases to NGOs has made it difficult for the NGOs to perform their roles, such is the case as reported on radio of a D.V victim who was pulled away from her marriage and given to her family when the abuse from her husband was becoming worse. Unknowingly, she sneaked out of the parents home and went back to her husband only for her to be reported dead few days later with bruises on her showing, she was beaten again by her husband. This goes to show that the work of NGOs is going to be more effective if these victims are taught to refer their cases to NGOs and shun societal misgivings which do not allow a woman to leave an abusive husband.

Recommendations

The issue of D.V should be taken more seriously as a national issue by both the government, NGOs and Academicians. This is because D.V can destabilize the peace, manpower and economic advancement of any nation. The more severe D.V gets, the more lives are lost and the more man power is lost. For underdeveloped and developing countries in Africa, they cannot afford to lose good men and women that would be productive to their country and the nations a whole. Hence, Academicians and practitioners in the law fields and social sciences should not just focus on the acts of D.V, criminality of the acts but also the institutions that have and should be put in place to combat D.V to wish NGOs currently make up a sizeable number of those trying to manage D.V. More materials, research should be made into these NGOs to help them strategize and better improve their inputs in the prevention of D.V.

The government should provide NGOs with good facilities and necessary amenities to carry out their role effectively in the society. Adult education should be greatly encouraged with emphasis on the rights of persons from abuse and D.V under the law. There should be prompt response from law enforcement agents and other key stakeholders when any case of D.V is reported or identified by NGOs and apply the available laws against D.V when cases are brought to them instead of dismissing it as a family

matter. The economic welfare of the society should be promptly addressed to alleviate the frustration and burden on the men.

The government alongside NGOs should establish an educative initiative targeted especially on men in order to cure the patriarchal entitlement of men towards abusing their wife for corrective purposes. Also to draw their attention to other acts that constitute D.V to which most men are ignorant of.

NGOs should pay more attention to cases of D.V and carry out follow up even after the parties involved are reconciled so as to avoid any fatal accident that may occur in the event of re-occurrence. Also, more awareness should be put out there so that people will know there are other forms of abuse aside physical battering and assault and the resultant effect of long time abuse, which is the tendency for one of the parties to kill the other. Also, NGOs should take into consideration the public health aspect of D.V when dealing with victims of D.V. because of cases where a pregnant woman is abused and may lose her life and that of her child in the course of giving birth as a result of complication suffered from the abuse.

NGOs should educate victims of D.V to shed the mental societal construction on their gender and place their life above their marital responsibilities in the face of abuse. They should make resort to the available NGOs instead of settling it in a private manner which most certainly proves ineffective at the end. The fear of the stigma associated with being a divorcee or a single parent should weigh less than the fear of death in the face of D.V.

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CYBER THEATRE A FIFTH DOMAIN OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: AFRICA AND THE REST OF THE WORLD IN THE CYBERSPACE

RESEARCH ARTICLE

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ABSTRACT: The cyberspace has now become a space theatre that enshrines activities such as cyber strategy, cyber-security, cyber defence, and cyberwar. The cyberspace is a realm likened to the global arena where involved or interested actors are spurred by one interest or the other. The challenge in such a realm is the lack of a central authority to enforce order. This explains why the cyberspace will remain an arena of cyberwar since no state nor individual has a monopoly over the internet. Issue of anonymous identity in the cyberspace has proven to be a challenge without a solution in sight as trojans and cyber-actors infiltrate national Cyber Securities. However, national cybersecurity has made success in identifying the source or location of a cyber-threat or attack, but identifying the attacker or hacker remains something difficult. It is because cyber warrior has perfected the art of hiding their identity during cyber-attacks. However, there are success stories of some cyber warriors being identified and incarcerated by security operative; this remains scanty. The cyberspace is a double-edged sword at the individual unit, state and global levels. Cyberwar can only come to an abrupt opt when morality becomes a norm. Cyberwar is a means to an end in the hands of cyber-actors. China, Russia, North Korea, Iran, America, terrorist networks, individuals, investors, universities, companies, and other stakeholders have prioritised the use of cyberspace due to its efficiency and accuracy. The cyberspace has presented itself to humanity as a viable alternative to land, water, and space. Nevertheless, the African continent use of the cyberspace is defensive but not strategic; the strategic use of the cyberspace can serve as an ancillary to the fulfilment of core national interests. The Western, Asian and American axes are indulged in the strategic use of the cyberspace.

Keywords: Cyber; Cybersecurity; Cyberattack; Cyberwar; Cyber-strategy; Cybercrime; Cyber-army

Cyber-Théâtre Un Cinquième Domaine De La Politique Internationale: L'Afrique et Le Reste Du Monde Dans Le Cyberspace

RESUME: Le cyberespace est désormais devenu un théâtre spatial qui consacre des activités telles que la cyber-stratégie, la cybersécurité, la cyberdéfense et la cyberguerre. Le cyberespace est un domaine assimilé à l'arène mondiale où les acteurs impliqués ou intéressés sont animés par un intérêt ou un autre. Le défi dans un tel domaine est le manque d'autorité centrale pour faire respecter l'ordre. Cela explique pourquoi le cyberespace restera une arène de cyberguerre puisqu'aucun État ni individu n'a le monopole d'Internet. La question de l'identité anonyme dans le cyberespace s'est avérée être un défi sans solution en vue alors que les chevaux de Troie et les cyber-acteurs s'infiltrèrent dans les Cyber Securities nationaux. Cependant, la cybersécurité nationale a réussi à identifier la source ou l'emplacement d'une cybermenace ou d'une attaque, mais l'identification de l'attaquant ou du hacker reste quelque chose de difficile. C'est parce que le cyber-guerrier a perfectionné l'art de cacher son identité lors de cyber-attaques. Cependant, il existe des exemples de réussite de certains cyber-guerriers identifiés et incarcérés par un agent de sécurité; cela reste maigre. Le cyberespace est une épée à double tranchant aux niveaux de l'unité individuelle, de l'État et du monde. La cyberguerre ne peut aboutir à un choix brutal que lorsque la moralité devient une norme. La cyberguerre est un moyen de parvenir à une fin entre les mains des cyber-acteurs. La Chine, la Russie, la Corée du Nord, l'Iran, l'Amérique, les réseaux terroristes, les particuliers, les investisseurs, les universités, les entreprises et d'autres parties prenantes ont donné la priorité à l'utilisation du cyberespace en raison de son efficacité et de sa précision. Le cyberespace s'est présenté à l'humanité comme une alternative viable à la terre, à l'eau et à l'espace. Néanmoins, l'utilisation du cyberespace par le continent africain est défensive mais pas stratégique; l'utilisation stratégique du cyberespace peut servir de complément à la réalisation des intérêts nationaux fondamentaux. Les axes occidental, asiatique et américain se livrent à l'utilisation stratégique du cyberespace.

Mots-clés : Cyber, La cyber-sécurité; Cyber-attaque; Cyber guerre; Cyber-stratégie; La cybercriminalité; Cyber-armée

Introduction

The cyberspace has grown to the extent of triggering intellectual discourse within scholars' realm, political scientists, communication experts, multinational cooperation, nations, policy developers, and citizens at the bottom of the pyramid. Issues related to the cyber seem to be the nucleus of the national, organisation, and individual discussion due to the essential nature of the internet which made it a commodity whose importance is similar to the gift of nature such as water, air, and food. The use of cyberspace via internet in the contemporary world has proved beneficial to humanity at all levels; from the top of the hierarchy to the bottom, for one reason or the other. Before the emergence of the internet, fax, telephone, hardcopy documents and letters, and palpable or physical form of communication such as face to face chat were the dominant means of communication. But the ground-breaking innovation of the internet rendered some of the pre-modern means of communication obsolete. It reduced the relevance of modern ones such as postal mail, physical chat, and the excessive use of hardcopy documents. The introduction of the internet changed almost all conventional practices such as financial transaction, warfare, business, entertainment; in a nutshell, it triggered the explosion of Artificial Intelligence which subjected humanity to a situation which can best be described a double-edged sword. The laudable and gloomy aspect of the cyberspace accounts for the consciousness of cybersecurity, cyber defence, and cyberwar which occupies a vital space in national policy, and conventional forums since it is a development that is beneficial to the world and simultaneously poses challenges to the world. The contemporary world has now become a cyber-strategy theatre where states are individually and collectively crafting policies or strategies to mitigate the destructive use of the cyberspace. Against this backdrop, one can conclude that the cyberspace is anarchical, especially when viewed through a realist prism. The realist school of thought is glued to the assumption that the international community is anarchical due to the absence of a central authority to enforce an order. This view applies to the cyberspace, due to the lack of central authority capable of controlling the use of the cyberspace, and this has led to the emergence of cyber wars, scores of cyber strategies such as offensive and defensive approaches at the individual, unit, and global system level. The multiple threats posed by the use of cyberspace have subjected states to a burning desire to establish cybersecurity for the defence of digital infrastructure and curtail the protruding debilitating cyber war. Cyberwar would have appeared as a myth to many. Still, occurrences in the cyberspace between powerful actors in America, Eastern Europe, Africa Asia and other regions of the world proved the realness of cyberwar as a threat to internal and external sovereignty of states, especially to digital infrastructures which characterised the economic and political strengths of countries. This work aims to discuss cyber theatre, cyber strategy, and how the quest for cybersecurity has accelerated cyber defence and cyberwars. Central to the aim of this study is to answer the following questions; what threat does the unethical use of cyberspace pose to humanity and national sovereignty? How have states used the cyberspace for the advancement of national interest? Who are the actors in the cyberspace? Are African nations making strategic use of the cyberspace for the advancement of their national interests, respectively?

Conceptual Clarification

Cyber

Cyber is a prefix used for the description of physical activities linked with computer devices and the internet. For instance, in the 21st century, we have seen a surge in the use of cyber and computer-related tools and activities such as cyber-trade, cyber-communication, cyber-security, cyber-strategy, cyberwar, cyber-entertainment and cybercrime, cybereconomy, cyberbullying, webinar, cyber soldier, cyber-actor, and cybertutor. Cyber is concerned with anything that has to do with the internet; this means that the prefix cyber means internet of things. Any physical machine or activities connected to the internet is qualified to use the prefix 'cyber'. Cyber is anything involving, using, or relating to computer, specifically the internet (Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Cybersecurity

As illustrated above, the prefix 'cyber' denotes internet of things, meaning machine or physical activities linked to the internet. Therefore, cybersecurity means the censorship of the use or activities of the internet for the safety of information. Kaspersky defines cybersecurity as the censorship of computers, servers, mobile devices, electronic systems, networks, and data to pre-empt them from malicious attacks. Cybersecurity can be referred to as information technology security or electronic information security. It

is a term applicable in multiple contexts, such as trade, politics, research, security, Intelligence, and production since central to them all is information (Kaspersky, 2020).

Cyberattack

Cyberattack is a strategic infiltration by an unauthorised individual or groups into the database of a nation, organisation or individual. A cyberattack could be politically or economically motivated. Kaspersky (2020) categorised cyberattack as a cyber threat and further maintains that it is politically motivated information gathering. Merriam-Webster (2020) defines it as an attempt to gain illegal access to a computer or computer system to inflict damages.

Cyberwar

Cyberwar is almost similar to cyber-attack; in that, it is unauthorised access of one country into the database of another country. Sheldon (2016), maintains that cyberwar, which is also known as cyber warfare is conducted from computers and internet linking them together, and is waged by states or their proxies against other nations. Cyberwars are usually waged against other governments and military networks to destroy, disrupt, take control of their devices or inflict pains. Cyberwars are also waged for cyber-espionage; this is often used for pilfering information. For instance, the U.S. justice recently accused China of Sponsoring two Chinese hackers who aimed to spy labs developing Covid-19 vaccines (BBC, 2020). Similarly, The race for COVID-19 antidote has triggered nuance of cyberwar as it was uncovered that China, Russia, and Iran as spies from the aforementioned countries targeted America biotech companies and research universities to pilfer data, according to a report of the American and British intelligence service (Lenthang, 2020).

Cyber-strategy

Cyber strategy differs from state to state; central to cyber-strategy is a national policy designed to mitigate cyber threats such as cyberwar, cyber-espionage and cybercrime, which poses a danger to national security. For instance, states of the world have strategies to pre-empt intrusion of hackers into their national database stored in the cyberspace. Each country has its National Cyber Security Strategy (NCSS) to obstruct unauthorised access to a national database. De Groot (2020), defined cybersecurity as measures established to protect networks, devices, programs, and data from attack, damage, or unauthorised use. Cybersecurity is equally information technology security (De Groot, 2020).

Cybercrime

It is an unethical use of the cyberspace, which is mostly targeted at individuals and organisations; central to cybercrime is the unlawful or unauthorised access to the repository or database of an organisation, or individual account to pilfer information of importance. Dennis (2020) defines cyber-crime also known as computer crime, as the use of computer for furthering illegal activities such as fraud, trafficking in child pornography, pilfering intellectual property, stealing identities, or invading privacy.

Cyber-armies

These are a section of the national troops whose activities are not on land, water and air, but in the cyberspace. Their actions are not directly visible but felt by the users of information communication technology. Cyber-armies are used chiefly for the protection of cyberspace, where states, corporations, and individuals have their repositories. They protect the country from cyberattacks launched by adversaries which could be other states, individual hacker or group hackers. Aschmann, Van Vuuren, and Leenen (2015:16), Defined cyber-army as a highly skilled information technology group of military personnel and civilians with a grave understanding of cyber skills and able to protect the military, state, national strategic infrastructures, and ability to launch cyberattacks.

Cyber Theatre as the Domain of Multifaceted Events

The significance of the internet in the contemporary world has led to the creation of an alternative world or realm where communication, transaction, agitation, coordination/strategies, and socialisation unfold; and this realm can be regarded as a cyber-theatre. It is a realm where physical activities or realities, and imaginations are transformed into the software which can be seen, and its effects felt in reality. It is a realm exploited by humanity in the contemporary world for various reasons such as mobilisation, coordination, dating, socialisation, database, research, financial transaction, governance and also military

activities. Below are few extracted explanations of what a cyber-theatre is from the work of existing authors:

"Dvizjenije aimed to involve the spectator both actively and totally in the event. Lev Nusberg, the initiator of Dvizjenije, describes cyber theatre as a model of the relationship between Machine and Man; so Cyber-theatre was a vision of man-machine symbiosis. It is the title and Nusberg's discussion point to the discovery of cybernetics, defined by Norbert Wiener in 1948 as the science of control and communication systems, in the animal and the machine (Chatzichristodoulou, n.d.)."

"Twenty years ago, it was inconceivable for people to meet without a physical encounter. But today, as the web browser has become a cyber theatre – a proscenium stage with a kind of "performance-action" taking place in the cyberspace behind its arch. When you subscribe to a blog or follow a tweet, you are signing up to your first spectator's contract, which in time will be fulfilled with a subject in action. As Peter Brook puts it, a man walks across an empty space whilst someone else is watching him, and this is theatre. In the same manner, the basic formula of cyber theatre can be defined as such: a mouse is dragged along a standalone digital interface, performing a series of orders and events, whilst its first spectator, namely the operator in front of the screen, is watching it. As early as the Windows '98 era, virtual scenography has demonstrated how people use digital interfaces as a "stage," by changing wallpapers, icons, and mouse arrows. After inventing the mouse avatar, our contemporary Aeschylus created a second character for his tragedy, namely "My Computer," or "the little lion of ESM antivirus software." Eventually, the "Internet connection" moved cyber theatre out of the temple and turned it into a carnival for the masses. At first, cyberspace used reality as its playscript and emerged in the form of a theatre of imitation and reproduction. Later, with the introduction of Web 2.0, cyberspace started to evolve beyond a theatre of simulation into – in Baudrillard's terms – a field of "hyperreality." Eventually, with its "return to offline" (zaixian Xinhua: literally, "re-offlin(e)-ise"), the cyber theatre has substantiated itself as a space for public discourse with the mission to "reconstruct" collective imaginations. It is to say that cyberspace is translated into a template (a play script) for reality to alter and update itself, to achieve a theatricalised society of "hyper-hyperreality eventually." This circular process occurs continuously and scattered across time-space; wherein cyber theatre represents the online rehearsal for a series of offline performances. These repeated rehearsals are the trial and error of future possibilities, and the preparation for positive interventions into reality. Hence, cyber theatre is defined by the action of actors (persons-in-action) who apply new rules and change the order of the cyberspace; it differs from cyber drama, which uses cyberspace only for literary expression (Xiaoxing, 2017)."

The above extracts elucidated the concept of cyber theatre from a 20th and 21st-century perspective. The 20th century perspective of the cyber theatre was focused on cybernetics which deals with the control and communication in the animal and machine; this explains how the interplay between human and visual digital technology began. The 21st-century elucidation of cyber theatre is quite advanced in that it encompasses control of any system of communication using technology, or the interplay between human, technology, and communication. Human communication through technology has gone beyond audio and visual digitalisation to graphical, textual, audio and visual digitalisation exchange, making the cyberspace more realistic and relevant to humanity across the globe. For instance, in the contemporary world, we have seen scores of activities performed in the cyber theatre ranging from cyberwar to cyber business meetings, cyber entertainment, cyber businesses, and cyber political campaigns. The emergence of COVID-19, for example, proved the significance of the cyberspace to humanity as activities on land, water, and sky were suspended, activities in the cyber domain witnessed an acceleration. The All Peoples Congress (APC) which is the incumbent political party, for the first time in history anchored an emergency virtual National Executive Committee meeting as the COVID-19 pandemic new normal necessitated new normal and quarantine (The State House Abuja, 2020). Medeiros, Goldoni, Junior, and Rocha (2020), posits that COVID-19 pandemic panic was a driver of innovation as it accelerated the use of the cyberspace by multiple actors such as government parastatals and the private sector. Besides, they made emphasis on the transposition of the administrative apparatus into the cyberspace, which brought into existence the e-government approach. However, they acknowledged the inevitability of possible challenges that can transpire in coordinated cyberspace activities.

The relevance of the cyberspace in the 21st accelerated dependency between individuals, organisations, and states, increasingly making the world a global village through digitalised communication; Mansabach and Taylor (2011, pp. 180,181), assert that the proliferation of mass media and communication and transportation innovations has accelerated people from all walks of life, even in the rural areas of the world, to establish an opinion about events, and get involved in public issues in a manner which was impossible in the era that preceded the emergence of the internet; the internet also has now become a means to an end in the hand of both governments and anti-government groups across the globe.

However, Africa has been tagged hotspot of crimes related to the cyberspace due to clear cases of internet racketeers, but this does not exclude other regions of the world from the perpetration of cyber-

crime. Shreds of evidence proved that developed nations are equally perpetrators of cybercrime; however, crimes committed in the cyberspace, seem to be region-specific. Kshetri (2019) identified Africa as one of the fastest-growing regions in term of cybercrime, in as much as the region is equally a victim of incessant sporadic cyber-attacks. I.T. and business advisory firm Serianu located in Kenya reported that African economies lost a total of \$3.5 billion to cybercrime in 2017 alone. Nigeria lost \$649 million, Kenya lost \$210 million; while the South African Banking Risk Information Centre (SABRIC), lost \$157 million annually to cyberattacks. As explicated by Kshetri, Africa is a perpetrator and equally a victim of cyberattacks. It is equally an indication that Africa is not lagging in the active use of the cyberspace. However, the mannerism in which cyberspace is used in Africa compared to the rest of the world appears less strategic as the African governments are not famous for launching cyberattacks compared to the rest of the world. Kshetri (2019) noted that Africa is a pronounced victim of cyberattacks which she attributed to vulnerable systems and lax cybersecurity practices. Similarly, Oladipo (2015) reports that cyber-crime is threatful to Africa as a database across the continent is prone to attacks based on lack of adequate protection which gives ease of access to hackers.

Cyber Security Strategy

The internet is now the most crucial tool for facilitating the exchange of opinions, distribution of information and propaganda, movement of legal and illegal funds, and also coordination of activities. An economist, who answers to the appellation, Kenici Ohmae cited in Mansbach and Taylor (2012, p. 192), argues that “the introduction of the internet from the mid-1990s has successfully made the world of communications truly borderless.” Anything that is borderless naturally lacks absolute control since there are no restrictions; therefore, the borderless nature of the advanced 21st-century communication has led to the questionable use of the internet. It is a technology that enables global marketing, flexible production, e-commerce, online financial transaction, international exchange of opinion and ideas, also coordination and mobilisation of activities. The cyberspace is a terrain where the aforementioned activities thrive effortlessly; however, activities in such domain should be censored or controlled for the safety of humanity. Nevertheless, full restrictions cannot be guaranteed since no one has a monopoly over the cyberspace.

The Department of Defence ‘Dod’ (2018) asserts that “the opened and decentralised nature of the internet spurred them to seek or create strategies to curtail or curb the significant vulnerabilities it poses.” Similarly, Osho and Onoja (2013) maintain that when a crime is digitalised, it poses complications which makes it cumbersome compared to traditional crimes where felons can be easily tracked and questioned. States such as China, Russia, Iran, and North Korea have been identified as axes involved in the unethical and immoral use of the cyberspace; similarly, individuals and terrorist networks had spotted as sources staging cyber-attacks on states, individuals and organisations (Department of Defence, 2018)

The activities that unfold in the cyberspace entail good and bad; this is due to the anarchic nature of the cyberspace since it lacks a central controlling unit. As a result of this, the cyberspace in the 21st century transmuted into an arena of illegal and legal activities which paradoxically promote national interest and threaten the sovereignty of other states. The dual encapsulation of good and bad of the cyberspace has led nations, and the global community to a consciousness that spurred scores of national strategies designed to mitigate the threat in the cyberspace posed to individuals, organisations, states, and the world in general. The cyberspace is now a theatre that embodies scores of national cybersecurity strategies to mitigate the challenges posed by unethical users of the internet. However, the cyberspace remains a theatre of multiple online activities such as cybersecurity strategies, cyberwar, cyber-trade, cybercommunication, cyber-repository, cyber-entertainment, cyberattacks and crimes.

In a bid to curtail the protruding debilitating occupation of hackers in the cyberspace, nations individually and collectively formulated national cyber strategies to mitigate the intrusion of cyber attackers or hackers into their digital infrastructure, such as **cyber-physical system** entails electricity grid, water purification, traffic lights, and hospital. According to Porup (2017), plugging a power plant into the internet makes it vulnerable to cyber-attacks. These are the vulnerabilities that the primary actors in international political actors aim to address.

Each state has its national cybersecurity strategy; Nigeria, for instance, established the Office of National Security Adviser (Osho & Onoja, 2015, p. 122); Donald Trump's administration signed Executive

Order 13800, for strengthening the cybersecurity of federal networks and critical infrastructure (Trump, 2018). Nineteen countries have developed and published their National Cyber Security Strategy 'NCSS' also referred to as National Information Security Strategy (Luijff et al., 2013). Countries individually established strategies to balance against cyber-attacks. The cyber theatre is an embodiment of cyber-defence, and it is in this domain that cyber war takes place. Countries of the world have put strategies in place individually to balance against trojans and cyber-attacks.

Media Foundation for West Africa 'MFWA' (2017), published Key Issues and Challenges policy brief on cybersecurity in Ghana in June 2017. It was reported that government and relevant stakeholders were involved in finding solutions to address problems of a cyberattack; nevertheless, National cyber Security Policy Strategy (NCSPS) was established in 2016 to address cybercrime in the country. Ghana NCSPS includes the Ghana Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT-GH). Also, the Data Protection Commission (DPC) was introduced to abate the spate of cyberattacks in the country. Unfortunately, cybersecurity issues persisted due to the following: the absence of cybersecurity consciousness, limited awareness on cybersecurity issues exuded by users such as businesspeople and private individuals; lack of legislation enforcement and law enforcement agencies low capacity in the detection, investigation, and persecution of internet-related crimes.

Similarly, South Africa has established several legislative frameworks which make up its cybersecurity policy. The legislations go thus: ECT Act, RICA Act, ICCMA, convention, Criminal Law Amendment Act, no 32 of 2007, Act No.65 of 1996, Act 34 of 1999 and Act 18 of 2004. The South African cybersecurity policy aims to create an environment that will guarantee trust and safe use of ICTs by establishing structures in support of cybersecurity to reduce cybersecurity threats and vulnerabilities, and foster coordination and cooperation between government and private sector. Besides, promote and strengthen cooperation to establish a culture of cybersecurity consciousness, and upgrade user's inclination to technical and operational cybersecurity standards (Department: Communications Republic of South Africa, 2009).

Africa Cyber Threat Intelligence Report 'ACTIR' (2018), maintained that a new study from Cyber Security firm Jighi approved by the 2018 Africa Cyber Security Conference (ACSC) revealed the extreme to which cyberattacks has perforated the African cyberspace. It ill impacted the entire continent affecting investments, government agencies, institutions and people from all walks of life. Furthermore, the report highlighted the weak security architectures, scarce skilled personnel, unconsciousness of cybersecurity and absence of coordinated regulations across the African countries. The weak cybersecurity has accelerated the cyber vulnerability of the African continent. Jig recommended that users of the cyberspace should upgrade outdated systems, consider the hiring of skilled I.T. personnel, and perform regular infosec audit.

U.N. General Assembly Sixty-fourth session (2010), adopted a Resolution on 21 December 2009 for the creation of a global culture of cybersecurity and taking stock of national efforts to protect critical information infrastructures. The U.N. General Assembly recalled the following preceding resolutions:

53/70 of 4 December 1998, 54/49 of 1 December 1999, 55/28 of 20 November 2000, 56/19 of 29 November 2001, 57/53 of 22 November 2002, 58/32 of 8 December 2003, 59/61 of 3 December 2004, 60/45 of 8 December 2005, 61/54 of 6 December 2006, 62/17 of 5 December 2007 and 63/37 of 2 December 2008 on developments concerning information technologies in the context of international security.

The above resolutions of the U.N. on cybersecurity is a collective active effort os nation-states to balance against cyberattacks as it threatens national and international order. The resolution offers state governments the privilege to establish individual National Cyber Strategy as an alternative to the collective approach. In a nutshell, the U.N. advocates a multilateral and unilateral approach to countering cyberattacks. However, the inevitability of cyberattacks indicates the anarchical nature of the cyberspace as it lacks central authority just like the global political domain. The neoclassical realist perspectives of international politics in the context of state behaviour and relations at the worldwide domain to a great extent mirrors the reality of cyberspace actors.

Cyber Security to Cyber Defence and Cyber War

The anarchical nature of the cyberspace left states with no option but to prioritise the security of digital infrastructure due to cyber-attacks, stages by adversaries within and outside the country. Despite national strategies adopted by states to curb the infiltration of hackers into national digital infrastructures, the cyberspace increasingly posed vulnerabilities hitherto. China adopted scores of a national strategy to censor citizens' use of the internet, simply to disconnect them from the outside world, but many Chinese groups outwitted the Chinese government.

As put by Mansbach and Taylor (2011, p. 192), events in China reflect the challenges states face in the cyberspace. In April 1999, the Falun Gong group organised a massive subtle protest in Beijing, in which they surrounded the building where China communist leaders reside. The Chinese leaders were frightened by how the Falun Gong group outwitted China's extensive surveillance system despite coordinating its activities through the use of email. It is proof that the cyberspace can be used to threaten national sovereignty; the Chinese leaders were subjected to the Falun Gong siege, which was strategically coordinated and mobilised in the cyberspace.

Furthermore, Mansbach and Taylor (2011, p. 192) stress that "the Islamic State of Iran was struck by a political event which revealed that cyberattack is a threat to national stability. In 2009, Iranians staged a mass protest against rigged presidential elections through the use of Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube to keep the world abreast regarding political unrest and disorder in the country". Social networks have proved to be a vital tool in the hand of spin-doctors, political agitators, and propagandist.

It is evident in Nigerian politics too, where some citizens and interest groups indulged in the spread of rumours. In 2018, a section of the Nigerian population agitating for balkanisation flooded the internet with a dish that President Mohammed Buhari died in a hospital in the United Kingdom where he went for medical help. In late 2018, the same Eastern agitators claimed that President Buhari is an impostor, replaced by one Jibril from Sudan after his demise in the United Kingdom. It is a piece of invalid information that cannot be blocked or restricted by the government due to the nature of the internet. A cyber threat can come in the form of propaganda or attack on a national database by internal or external hackers. Events of this nature led to the urgent need for states to prioritise national cybersecurity.

Cyber-attack can happen within a state, and it can equally be carried out from external territories. For instance, the Wikileaks was an inside job, whilst the Russian manipulation of a general election that brought President Donald J. Trump to power is an external manipulation of digital machines.

Africa has been identified as a victim of multiple cyber attacks. Check Point Software Technologies statistics released in October 2015 for its ThreatCloud World Cyber Threat Map claimed that Tanzania is the most victimised by cyberattacks. However, followed by Malawi, Namibia, Mauritius, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Nigeria and South Africa, which ranked better (67) compared to the rest of Africa. The report claimed that less developed world is often the target of less developed countries (Cyber Security, 2016). A cyberattack can be from ordinary individuals or state; however, cyberattack attacks lunched by states are considered cyberwar. The increase in cyberwars has led governments to individual creation of cyber warfare units as countries of the world indulged in cyberwar in the space. For instance, the U.S. Cyber Unit was established in 2009; similarly, North Korea and the United Kingdom created theirs too to balance against cyberattacks from known or unknown attackers.

Nigerian Army unveiled its Cyber Warfare Command in 2018 which was announced in 2016. Nigeria has been identified rejigging its cyberwar strategy as the country is a victim of cyber-terrorism as the militant Boko Haram exposed itself to the brutal use of the internet. Nigeria discovered that the Boko Haram uses a social media platform for recruitment, and equally defaced the Defence Headquarters website. Furthermore, it was found that the Boko Haram hacked the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) database on the day of the presidential election. However, in 2016 the Nigerian Army made known her intention of taking its counterinsurgency to the cyberspace. The Nigerian Army Cyber Warfare Command will monitor, defend and launch an assault in the cyberspace through its denial of service (DDoS) targeted at criminals, nations and terrorists (O'Flaherty, 2018; Technology Mirror, 2018). With the introduction of the Nigerian Army Cyber Warfare, Nigeria can boast of cyber-armies for the protection of her territorial integrity. However, most African nations are not known for waging cyberwars; yet, the continent has a bucket full of non-state-actor-cyber-armies using the cyberspace as a means to an end due to the prevalence of unemployment. For instance, much Nigerian youth has been incarcerated by

the Western nations for cybercrimes. For example, an internet celebrity known as 'Hushpuppi' was arrested by the USA. Similarly, a group of Nigerian internet racketeers were arrested in the USA and in South Africa by the State Interpol. Also, this group of racketeers are equally arrested in Nigeria almost daily by the Nigeria anti-fraud agency (BBC, 2016; Karimi, 2020; news24, 2016).

However, Nigeria has launched cyber warfare on two occasions; first, against the terrorist group that attacked its cyberspace, and secondly, against the dissemination of fake news and hate speech in the wake of *END SARS* protest that rocked the country (Ndidi, 2020).

The threat to digital infrastructure can be debilitating in that it potentially disrupts cyber-physical systems. In the developed world traffic lights, electricity, trains, electricity grid, water purification machines and medical apparatus have all gone digital; an attack on the cyberspace might trigger national disruption or destruction of critical infrastructure that depends on the internet. Such an occurrence is a potential threat to internal and external sovereignty of the state. States realisation of the damaging effect of cyber-attack to digital infrastructure triggered the urgency to develop a national cybersecurity strategy to defend national cyberspace from internal and external intrusion.

National Cyber-Security Strategies

National cybersecurity is defined as an established or consolidated policy designed to deter internal and external intrusion to national digital infrastructure. It is also the ability to ensure the integrity, confidentiality, and availability of information (Porup, 2017). The European Union Agency Network and Information Security define NCSS as:

key policy feature, helping them to tackle risks which have the potential to undermine the achievement of economic and social benefits from cyberspace (Enisa, 2019).

Before the emergence of the internet, national security only covers four domains which are land, sea, air, and space. Still, the proliferation of the internet aroused the need for national governments to protect their respective cyberspace from cyber-attacks often staged by known adversaries searching for classified information of other states for strategic needs. America, European nations, Georgia, Estonia, and South Korea have suffered from cyber-attack from one or two of the following primary actors, China, Russia, North Korea, and Iran; also terrorists and fraudsters are equally identified as cyberspace attackers. The security threat posed by hackers rendered the cyberspace as the fifth domain, which needs to be protected by the state (Mansbach & Taylor, 2012, p. 306).

The Department of Defence (2018), in its cyber strategy, reports that "Adversaries prevented from engaging the United States and its allies in physical armed conflict found the cyberspace operation as a means to steal their technology, and disrupt their government, commerce, manipulate their democratic processes, and also threatened their critical infrastructure." Events of this nature account for the essential need for the state to have national cybersecurity. Technology information and classified information theft can pose a considerable challenge to national sovereignty. The Wikileaks intrusion hurts America hitherto. Cyberattacks often have a long-term debilitating effect on the attacked; this is why states are increasingly incentivising consolidation of national cybersecurity.

Clinton, Obama, and Trumps's administration respectively made a strong emphasis on the need to design effective cybersecurity due to multiple attacks the USA suffered from hackers based in the axes mentioned above (Mansbach & Taylor, 2012).

A cyber-attack in the USA led Clinton's administration to design a comprehensive computer monitoring system; the threat of cyber-attack triggered the consolidation of cyber games at the U.S. military academy. Obama's regime also created a cybersecurity office in the White House; Cyber Command was created by the U.S. Department of Defense (Mansbach & Taylor, 2012, p. 306).

The porosity of the cyberspace proved inevitable in the general election that brought President Trump to power, where the Russians influenced the American electoral process through the use of cyber-enabled information operations. China has a culture of eroding U.S. military better armed and the nation's economic strength by obstinately withdrawing or exfiltrating classified information from U.S. public and private sectors (Department of Defence, 2018). The internet subjects the USA to external threats. Still, the country remains glued to the use of the cyberspace and committed to the promotion of cybersecurity due to the strategic benefits the cyberspace embodies.

States often design or define their national cybersecurity strategy, according to their national needs or reality. Still, there tends to be some common ground in national cybersecurity strategy since cybersecurity aims at deterring cyber-intrusion from the unwanted axis or malicious users of cyber tools. The work of Luijff, et al. (2013), also shows similarities in the comparative analysis of 19 national cybersecurity services.

The Office of the National Security Adviser 'ONSA' (2014), shares an identical cybersecurity view with Microsoft (Godwin & Nicholas cited, in Osho & Onoja, 2013, p. 123); the cybersecurity strategy of ONSA aims at addressing the following: cyber-crime, cyber terrorism, cyber espionage, online child abuse, and exploitation. The Trump administration 2018 cybersecurity strategy aims to address the following: defend the homeland by protecting networks, systems functions, and data. Promote American prosperity by nurturing a secure, thriving digital economy and fostering vital domestic innovation. Preserve peace and security by strengthening the ability of the United States - in concert with allies and partners - to deter and, if necessary punish those who use cyber tools for malicious purposes; and; expand American influence abroad to extend the fundamental tenets of an open, interoperable, reliable, and secure internet (Trump, 2018).

The Trump administration tends to bolster ties with the existing transnational platform such as United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, the G7 24/7 network Point of Contact and the Budapest Convention, as a defensive measure against the cyberwar. But the question remains can cyber-attack, be altogether deterred in a society where cyberculture favours cyberspace vulnerabilities? It is a fact that hackers indulge in the use of popular social networks to infiltrate states digital infrastructure; for instance, the electoral process in the USA was manipulated by Russian hackers through social network generated data. The contemporary global cyberculture offers cyber warriors an ocean to swim freely. The USA presidential election was manipulated through social media platforms; this singular fact should discourage the use of Facebook, but shockingly the use of Facebook accelerated. Africa is one of the active users of Facebook; it is an indication that Africa will remain vulnerable to cyber warriors.

It is quite appalling that the axis 'China, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan' the West labelled as homes to cyber attackers, in 2011 assent to the Initiative of the General Assembly of the United Nations for an 'International Code of Conduct for Information Security (U.N. cited in, Luijff et al., 2013, p. 24). States have come to realise the debilitating effect of cyberwar on national security and have come to term to address cybercrime issues collectively. But the rationale behind individuals staging an attack on foreign territory digital infrastructure is beyond financial gains, there might be political motives to it, and it might be backed by states seeking to access classified information of another state. The fact that genuine hackers' identity cannot be identified in the cyberspace poses a considerable threat to the cyber world hitherto. And it subjects one to the question why is cyberwar an inevitable aspect of contemporary cyberspace despite partnership between states at the global level to mitigate cyber-attacks?

Cyber War

The cyberspace in recent years has turned to be a possible means to an end, in the hand of states, interest groups, organisations, researchers, defence department, and terrorists; the cyberspace is a theatre that encapsulates all sorts of actors. The porosity, and fluidity of the cyberspace increasingly pose challenges to national digital infrastructure and sovereignty. Adversaries that cannot balance against their rivals, or despise the use of confrontation, in reality, find the cyberspace as a relevant alternative to assert their radical ambition (Department of Defence, 2018; Mansbach & Taylor, 2012, p. 307).

The USA has been attacked in the cyberspace by small revisionist states such as Iran and North Korea. They are known for the indulgence in the malicious use of cyber tools to harm U.S. citizens and USA interest. The USA vulnerabilities to cyber-attack can be attributed to its civilian and military excessive dependence on cyberspace for almost everything (Department of Defence, 2018). Whatever threatens America's cyberspace, will simultaneously threaten the alternative four domains, and it is a potential source of espionage (Mansbach & Taylor, 2012, p. 30).

Mansbach and Taylor (2012, p. 306), defined cyberwar as the war in the cyberspace, which exposes physical, cyber machines to attacks from adversaries; this pushed many countries to prioritise the security of cyberspace. Cyberspaces are often attacked to cause destruction or disruption to plunge a state into disorder. Cyberspace vulnerabilities have threatened the United States, internal and external

sovereignty. It gave small countries such as North Korea and Iran leverage to dare the superpowers; Mansbach and Taylor (2012, p. 307), referred to this as asymmetric warfare. The cyberspace over the years has proved to be a significant arena which advanced societies are now exploiting as the 5th warfare domain. Mansbach and Taylor posit that:

“Instead of using explosives to kill and destroy the warrior of the future” may be armed “armed with a laptop computer from a motel room.” “Hacking, virus writing, and crashing data information systems – as well as defending against enemy hackers and virus writers – may become core military skills, as important as the ability shoot.” Future war “may see attacks via computer viruses, worms, logic bombs, and Trojan horses rather than bullets, bombs, and missiles” (2012, p. 306).

From the above premise, former President Obama declared that in today's world, terrorism could emanate not merely from a few extremist or adversaries in suicide costume but from the click of a button on the laptop 'a weapon of mass destruction'. He further said that from now, the networks and computers they depend on daily would be treated sensitively as a strategic national asset and protecting the digital infrastructure will be a national security priority. In his speech, he avowedly stated that the U.S. and Russia have engaged in talks with the aims of enhancing internet security and curtailing the possibility of cyber (Mansbach & Taylor, 2012, p. 306).

The above submission shows that protection of the cyberspace has gone beyond a national question, to a global problem which states are collectively aiming to address to mitigate the possibility of cyberwar. This observation validates the assumption 'from cybersecurity and cyber defense to cyberwar'. Cyberwar seems to be the new form of war states, and individuals use to meet certain political or economic ends.

The submission by former President Obama regarding cyberwar raised consciousness at the global arena regarding the future possibility of a cyberwar between states. But quite unfortunate that the long-term American adversary was accused of staging a cyber-war on America by manipulating the general election that brought President Donald J. Trump to power. It is quite appalling that despite the prevalence of national cybersecurity, national cyberspace is increasingly subjected to cyber-attacks from unknown persons. The most bewildering aspect of the intrusion into states cyberspace is that the countries of origin are often identified, but the hackers behind the cyberspace intrusion are often anonymous; this posed a considerable challenge to the cyber world hitherto. States inability to have absolute dominance in protecting classified information stored in national cyberspace has led to the proliferation of espionage. Espionage is a threat to the intellectual property of national defence, and critical national private investments such as banks, airlines, communication companies, hospitals, and any other organisation that uses cyber-physical instruments (Mansbach & Taylor, 2018, p. 306). Lack of absolute dominance over the information in national cyberspace has spurred the proliferation of espionage in recent years in the global cyberspace.

For instance, a Chinese-based electronic spying group called "Ghost-Net" in 2009 infiltrated computers across the globe; Ghost Net has the technological advantage to exercise full control over infected cyber-physical machines; it searches for information and downloads selected files. This device shows how cyber malware can be a threat to a sophisticated network or cyber-physical machines. Chinese officials intruded Google cyber citadel, and this led Google to evacuate China. There is also a record of Chinese and European hackers' infiltration of into 2400 private organisations and government computers to pilfer classified information for over 18 months.

Cyberwar capabilities to subject a nation or an organisation to collateral damage was evident in 2008 when America discovered that hackers had penetrated their electric grid, and planted software that can reduce the standard of the cyber-physical machine. As a result of multiple cases of cyber-attacks on American digital infrastructure, the Chinese government indulgence in hacking against the U.S., European, and Japanese industries and research facilities is quite gross. Exabytes of data have been pilfered from government facilities, industrial labs, and universities (Mansbach & Taylor, 2012, pp. 306, 307).

The cyberwar appeared to be a zeitgeist in the contemporary world, judging from the skilfulness of state-sponsored hackers in creating sophisticated malware designed to intrude in desired cyberspace; Mansbach and Taylor (2018, p. 307), posits that “Russian ‘cyber warriors’ are the most skilled compared to the Chinese hackers. In 2007 Estonia was a victim, and in 2008 Georgia was a victim of Russian based hackers who launched cyber-attack on them through a malware called ‘Distributed Denial of Service’ (DDOS). Estonia remains the first victim of Web War 1 due to its excessive dependence on internet

connectivity". The cyber-attack was triggered by the removal of a Soviet war memorial from central Tallinn; this is another example of states taking grievances from the land to the cyberspace.

North Korea, a well-known revisionist state in the context of international law, launched DDOS malware against the U.S. and South Korea digital infrastructure in 2009 following the cyberwar organised by the USA. The issue that was raised during this period was that should retaliation be considered, just how it is the rational response in a situation of physical armed attack (Mansbach, 2012, p. 307).

African countries cyber-armies are not notorious compared to countries such as Russia, USA, and China are well known for staging cyberwars. However, it is strictly for strategic purposes which in turn add value to the cyber attackers' country. But in the case of Nigeria, cyberattacks are often launched by cyber-non-state-actors, often for personal gains as it was in the case of Nigerian internet racketeers apprehended by the USA in South Africa, Dubai, and in the USA.

Conclusion

In conclusion, cyberwar has turned to be an efficient tool in the hand of superpowers and small powers; it has triggered asymmetric warfare, a type of warfare that brings powerful and small power states to equal footing. In the contemporary world, offensive cyber capabilities are increasingly overshadowing defensive capabilities. National cyber strategies adopted by states has proved futile in curtailing cyber wars and cyberattacks as it is in the case of Africa, even the developed world despite their sophisticated cybersecurity mechanism. It might be because states find the cyberspace as a domain where national interests can be pursued, and also the fact that the cyberspace has no central control unit that can oversee the activities of users. The cyberspace in a deep-seated sense has helped China gain a technological advantage by pilfering of classified information from states across the globe. Similarly, Russia has positioned itself as an invisible cyber warrior by using its cyber-armies to launch scores of attacks on enemy axis, for instance, the infiltration in America's election that brought President Donald J. Trump to power.

It was discovered in this study that the cyberspace is more anarchical compared to the internal terrain; in the international landscape, there is a collective body that relatively checks the excesses of states. Unfortunately, the cyberspace lacks a collective unit that can curtail the activities of cyber warriors; hence, no bulwark against the activities of cyber-soldiers and non-state-actor-cyber armies that can deter or regulate their activities. However, the intrusion of cyberwarriors into the repository of states, corporations, and individuals has been mitigated to some extent. However, the fact remains databases are still successfully attacked by cyber warriors.

The certainty of anonymity in the cyberspace has made the war on cybercrime a difficult one, in that both states, corporations, and individuals launched cyberattacks anonymously either to pilfer classified information or to extract financial resources. In this regard, Africa seems to be the most vulnerable due to its weak cybersecurity strategy. However, the argument that Africa's cybersecurity is weak does not hold that much anymore, because cyber-warriors equally victimise countries that own strategic cybersecurity bulwark. For instance, it was discovered that hackers from Russia and China hacked into the COVID-19 research centres in Europe and America. This occurrence singularly validated the claim that the cyberspace is porous and anarchical. Cyberattacks can be a potential source of international conflict due to the inevitability of anonymity and immorality exuded by states and individuals due to the unethical use of information communication technology.

Finally, cyberwar and cyber-attacks are inevitable as they are a means to an end in an essential sense. Events have shown that states use cyberwar to advance their national interests. At the same time, non-state-actor-cyber-armies launched cyberattacks to pilfer financial resources as it is the case of attacks coming from Nigeria and other African countries. In a nutshell, the Asian, Western and American axes have been seen waging cyberwars and cyberattacks to meet specific national objectives which could be political or economic based. Contrariwise, cyberattacks launched by cyber-warriors in Africa alternates between terrorism and pilfering of financial instruments, however, the pilfered financial instruments is an income from the rest of the world, hence, an addition to Africa's Gross Domestic Income (GNI). But the opportunity cost is that it drags the reputation of the continent in the quagmire of ridicule, and ruins online investment trust which can be a disincentive to the online market in that foreign investors might fill reluctantly in buying portfolio investment across the continent.

Similarly, the African continent has seen a surge in the use of cyberspace for political activities such as campaign, advocacy, and decry of bad leadership; however, the strategic use of the cyberspace in Africa has not come to the fore. The African cyber warriors limited the use of cyberspace to the monitoring of malicious activities. Still, the strategic use of the cyberspace capable of speeding the accomplishment core national objectives seem unconsidered. The USA, Western and Asian axis cyber-armies and non-state-actor-cyber armies have made headway in utilising the cyberspace as a tool for the advancement of national interest.

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AFRİKA'DA TEHLİKE ALTINDA OLAN DİLLERİ KORUMA VE YAŞATMAYA YÖNELİK MOBİL UYGULAMA ÖNERİLERİ

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ÖZ: İnsan ve diğer canlıların gösterdikleri uyuma göre yaşamlarını sürdürebilmeleri gibi, diller de yaygın olarak kullanılabilmesine göre hayatta kalabilir. Dilin yok olma tehlikesiyle karşı karşıya kalabilmesi konuşucu topluluğunun sayısı ile ilgilidir; konuşmacı sayısı ne kadar küçükse tehlike o denli büyük olur. Bir toplumda konuşulan dillerin yok olma tehlikesi ile karşılaşması ya da tamamen yok olmasının sosyo-kültürel, coğrafik, ekonomik, stratejik veya medikal nedenleri olabilir. Günümüzde tehlike altında olan dillerin yeniden canlandırılması konusunda eğitim kurumlarında sistemli canlandırma çalışmaları yapılmakla birlikte alan yazına geçmiş çoklu ortamın kullanıldığı Avustralya ve Amerika'dan iki yerel dil ile ilgili akıllı telefon uygulaması vardır. Çalışmanın amacı Afrika'da tehlike altında bulunan ve canlandırılmak istenen diller için verilen iki örnekteki benzer ve daha gelişmiş akıllı telefon uygulamalarının ortaya konulması için öneriler sunmaktır. Akıllı telefonların kullanımının yaygınlaşması çoğu alanda sunulan uygulamalar göz önünde bulundurulduğunda tehdit altında olan dillerin yeniden işlev kazanması ve kullanıcı sayısının artmasına yönelik olumlu katkı sağlayacağı ileri sürülebilir. Günümüzde bu süreçte yaşayan insan faktörü dışında akıllı telefonlarda yer alabilecek Afrika'daki diller tehlike durumundan çıkıp genç bireylerin bir tür öğrenme platformu haline gelebileceği düşünülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tehlike altındaki diller; yeniden canlandırma; akıllı telefon uygulamaları; Genişletilmiş Kuşaklar Arası Bozulma Ölçeği

Suggestions for Mobile Applications to Protect and Save Endangered Languages in Africa

ABSTRACT: Just as humans and other living things could survive according to the harmony they reveal, languages could also survive based on their widespread accessibility. The danger of language extinction is related to the number of the speaker community; the smaller the number of speakers, the greater the danger. The danger of extinction or the complete extinction of the languages spoken in a society may have socio-cultural, geographical, economic, strategic or medical reasons. In addition to systematic revitalization, procedures are carried out in educational institutions for the revitalization of languages that are currently under threat; there are two traditional language applications from Australia and America taking advantage of multimedia are found in the literature. The aim of the study is to provide suggestions for developing smartphone applications similar to the two examples given for the revitalization of endangered languages in Africa. Considering the widespread use of smart phones in most settings, it could be suggested that it will positively contribute to the regaining of threatened languages and the increase in the number of users. Mobile applications that can be designed to revitalize endangered languages in Africa can become a kind of learning platform for young people.

Keywords: Endangered languages; revitalization; smartphone applications; Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

Giriş

Kullanıcı sayısı sürekli artan ve gelişen diller olmakla birlikte konuşucu sayısı git gide azalan ve günün birinde tamamen ortadan kaybolan diller de bulunur. Hangi dillerin daha güçlü hangi dillerin ise yok olma tehlikesine karşı savunmasız olduğu konusu göreceli bir kavramdır. Ancak bir dilin yok olma tehlikesi ile ilgili iki önemli ölçüt vardır. Bunlar dilin toplumdaki bireyler tarafından kullanılmaması ve çocuklara aktarılmasında veya sosyal etkileşimdeki kullanım sıklığının azalması olarak sıralanabilir. Dil, kültür ve düşünce arasındaki devingen bağ yapısı her biri ögesi diğerinin devamlılığını sağlayan öğelerden birinin zarar görmesi sonucunda kayıplar yaşayacak bir bütün olarak nitelendirilebilir. Bu bakımdan bir dilin tehlike altına girmesi ya da ortadan kaybolması beraberinde ait olduğu kültürde bozunmalara ya da yok oluşlara neden olabilir.

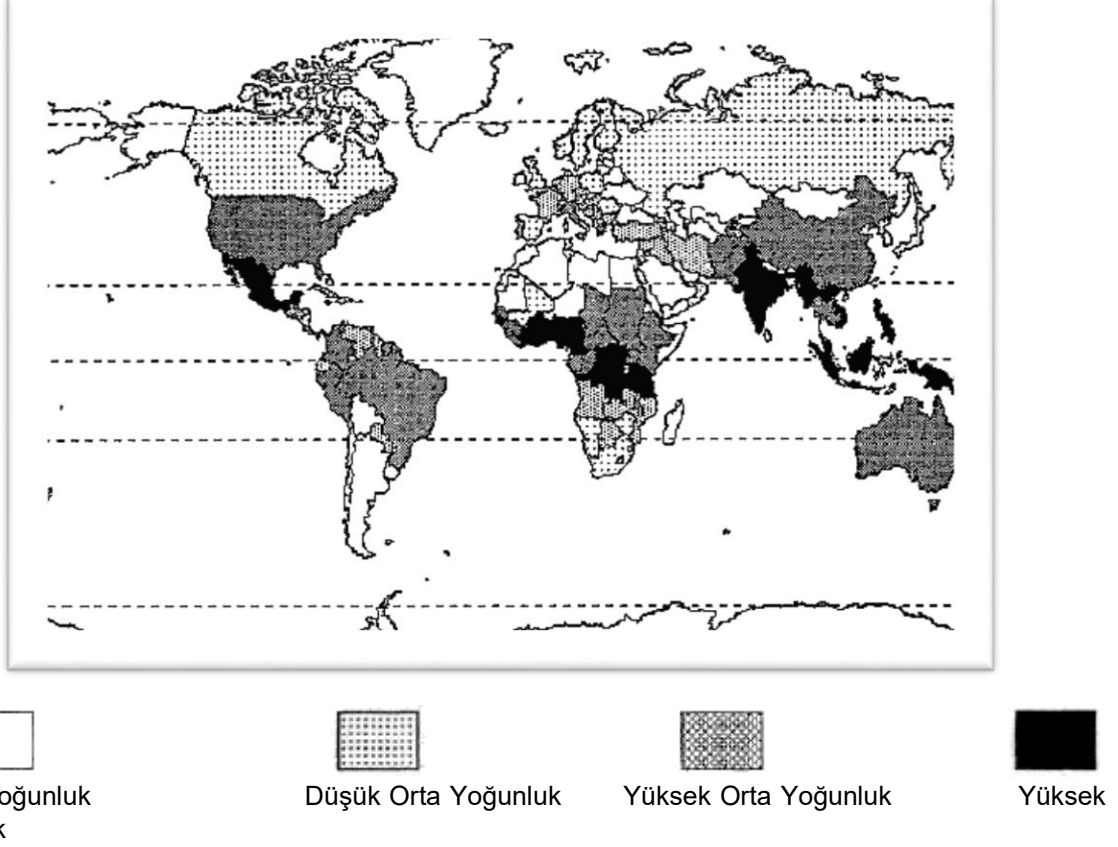
Dünya üzerindeki bütün dillerin toplandığı ve sınıflandırıldığı en önemli veri tabanı olan *Ethnologue*, yayınlarına 1951 yılında Richard S. Pittman editörlüğünde başlar ve günümüzde ağ tabanlı bir yayın organizasyonu olarak hizmet veren dünya üzerindeki olası tüm dillerin dil yapısı, dil aileleri, bölge ve

ülke yapısına göre sayısal ve haritalardan oluşan görsel veri bütününü sunar. Dünya üzerinde soyu tükenmiş ya da kaybolma tehlikesi ile karşı karşıya olan diller için *Ethnologue* bir dizi olası neden sıralar; soyu tükenmiş diller bakımından son konuşmacının ne zaman öldüğüne dair tahminler, ikinci dillerin kullanımı, dilin başkaları tarafından ikinci dil olarak kullanılması, topluluk içindeki dile yönelik tutumlar, konuşmacıların yaş aralığı, dilin kullanım alanları, ülke veya bölge içindeki dillerin resmi olarak tanınması, dilin okulda mı yoksa evde mi öğrenildiği / edinildiği, ekonomik fırsatlar veya bunların eksikliği. Şüphesiz bu nedenler arasındaki en önemli etken kullanılan dilin yeni nesillere aktarılma oranıdır. Bir dilin yaşaması için konuşulması ve yeni kuşaklara aktarılması gerekir ancak konuşulmadığı ve sosyo-kültürel öğrenme süreçleri bağlamında yeni nesillere iletilmediğinde o dilin hayatta kalma durumu tehlikeye girer ya da dil tamamen ortadan kaybolur. En temel anlamıyla dil karşıda konuşacak bir birey olduğu sürece canlı kalabilir, dolayısıyla bir dilin son konuşucusu olmak bir anlam ifade etmez (Crystal, 2014, ss. 1,15; <https://www.ethnologue.com>).

Ethnologue'un 23. Sayısında dünya üzerinde var olan dil sayısı 7117 olarak belirtilir. Ancak bazen iki konuşma sisteminin bir dilin lehçesi mi yoksa iki ayrı dil olarak mı nitelendirilmesi gerektiği dilbilim alanında halen tartışma konusudur. Ayrıca aynı dil için verilen ada ek olarak yöre halkı tarafından kullanılan alternatif dil adları da *Biom, Berum, Gbang, Kibo, Kibbo, Kibbun, Kibyen, Aboro, Boro-Aboro, Afango, Chenberom* ve *Shosho* şeklindedir. Listelenen 7117 dil içerisinde aynı dilin farklı adlarla anılanları göz önünde bulundurulduğunda 40.000'e yakın farklı dil adı envanterde yer alır. (Crystal 2014: 2) Dil adlarının hangilerinin lehçeyi temsil ettiği hangilerinin ise ana dil için kullanıldığı halen tartışma konusudur. Akıllı telefonlar ve sosyal medya kaybolmakta olan bir dilin yayılmasında ve varlığını sürdürmesinde önemli bir rol üstlenebilir. Bu bağlamda bu çalışmada Avustralya ve Amerika'da bulunan iki yerel dilin yok olmaması için geliştirilen iki akıllı telefon uygulaması örnek olarak verilir. Bu çalışmanın amacı Afrika'da yok olma tehlikesi ile karşı karşıya olan bir dilin yaşayan son bireylerinin dilsel kullanımalarının sayısal bir şekilde kayıt altında tutulması ve yazılım teknolojisi ile akıllı telefon uygulaması haline getirilmesi konusunda öneriler sunmaktır.

Dillerin Tehlike Altına Girmesi ve Ölümlerinin Nedenleri

Afrika ve Asya halen yaşamakta olan yerli dilleri en çok barındıran kıtalardır. 19 yüzyılda başlayan sömürgecilik döneminden itibaren başta İngilizce ve Fransızca olmak üzere bazı Avrupa dilleri her iki kıtada yayılım gösterir. Anketlere göre oluşturulan alan yazın tabanlı araştırmalara göre Afrika'da yaklaşık 54 dil yok olmuş ve 116 dil ise yok olma tehlikesi ile karşı karşıya gelmiştir. Bu konuda kıtada bulunan ülkeler arasında tehlike altında bulunan diller için yeterli ve güvenilir veri toplanması sorundur. Kenya'da yok olma tehlikesi ile karşı karşıya olan dillerin en iyi şekilde kayıt altına alındığı öne sürülür. Ayrıca Nijerya hem en çok sayıda konuşulan hem de fazla sayıda nesli tükenmiş dile sahip bir ülke olarak sayılır. Afrika'da konuşulan pek çok dil tropik kuşakta yer alır ve dil çeşitliliği Batı Afrika'dan başlayıp Kongo ve Doğu Afrika'ya uzanır. Bu kuşak üzerinde yer alan ülkelerde sayı olarak dünyanın en zengin dilleri yer alır. Ortalama dil sayıları ülkelere göre şu şekilde sıralanır: Nijerya 427, Kamerun 270, Zaire 210, Fildişi Sahili 73, Togo 43, Gana 72, Benin 51, Tanzanya 131 (Nettle & Romaine, 2000, ss. 9, 32). Afrika'daki dil çeşitliliğine bağlı yoğunluğun var olduğu bu kuşağın benzeri Güneydoğu Asya'dan Pasifik'e uzanmakla birlikte Brezilya, orta Amerika ve Avustralya kıtası için de bulunur. Tropik kuşaktaki yoğun tropik ormanlar hem çok sayıda insanı hem de yaşayan diğer canlılar ve biyolojik çeşitliliği barındırır. Aşağıda sunulan haritada coğrafik kuşaklara göre dil çeşitliliğindeki yoğunluk farklı tonlarla gösterilir.



Şekil 1. Coğrafik kuşaklara göre dil çeşitliliği haritası (Nettle, 2000, s. 33)

Dillerin yok olma tehlikesiyle karşılaşmasının ve yok olmasının arkasında çok çeşitli nedenler yer alır. Dillerin ölmesini engellemek, yeniden canlandırmak ve kullanıcı sayısını artırmak antropolojik dilbilimin ve yazılım mühendisliğinin disiplinler arası etkileşimini gerektirir. Anadil yeni nesillere aktarılmadığı sürece kullanım sıklığı azalır ve yok olma tehlikesi ile karşı karşıya kalır. Bazı durumlarda bireyler türlü nedenlerden ötürü anadillerini kullanmayı bırakıp başka bir dili kullanmaya başlar. Yazılı ya da sayısal yöntemlerle veri bütünü haline dönüştürülüp saklanamayan ve tehlike altındaki diller günün birinde tamamen yok olur. Bir toplulukta bir dilin daha az kullanılmaya başlanması tehlike altına girmesindeki önemli etmenlerden biridir. Sadece sayı olarak azalmak değil yaşamın birçok bağlamındaki işlevsel kullanımdaki azalmalar da bu tehlikeli durumun oluşumundan sorumludur. Yerli bir dilin kamusal, eğitim, sağlık ve kurumsal bağlamda kullanılması yerine başka bir dilin tercih edilmesi ya da tek bir işlevi yerine getirmek dışında kullanılmaması da dilin tehlikede olmasında rol oynar. Bu konuya örnek olarak Etiyopya'da sadece ayinlerde kullanılan Ge'ez dili verilebilir (Crystal 2014, s. 17; <https://www.ethnologue.com/endangered-languages>).

Dillerin yok olma tehlikesi ile karşı karşıya kalma olasılığı dikkate alınması gereken bir durumdur. Dünya üzerinde nesli tükenmekte olan dillerin koruma altına alınması ve yeniden canlandırılmasıyla ilgili yapılmış çalışma sayısı diğer kıta ve ülkelere göre kıyaslandığında daha az görünür. Bunun yanı sıra Sahra altı Afrika'da dillerin tehlike altına girmesinde dış etkenlerin yanı sıra iç dinamiklerin de etkisi daha fazladır ve ortaya çıkan bu durum Afrika'da yok olma tehlikesi ile karşı karşıya olan dilleri daha farklı kılar. Diğer kıtalardaki tehlike altında olan dillerle kıyaslandığında dillerin yok olma sürecine girmesinde göç başta olmak üzere iç baskılar ön plandadır. Bu bakımdan dillerin yok olması bağlamında Afrika kendine özgü bir yapı sergiler. Kıtada dillerin yok olduğu ile ilgili yapılan çalışmalarda bazen sağlıklı verilerle ulaşma sorunu da önemli bir engel oluşturur (Kandybowicz & Torrence, 2017, s. 1).

Kıtık ve iç savaşlar dillerin tehlike altına girmesinde diğer önemli etkenler olarak önemlidir. 1983 ve 1985 yılları arasında Doğu ve Güney Afrika'da meydana gelen ve çok ciddi boyutlara ulaşan Sahel kuraklığı Birleşmiş Milletler'in verilerine göre yaklaşık 22 milyon insanın olumsuz yönde etkilenmesine yol açar. Daha yakın zamanlarda, özellikle Afrika'da, kıtlık istatistikleri, genellikle iç çatışmaların sonuçlarıyla birleştiğinde, en çok etkilenen insanlar tarafından konuşulan diller için bariz bir anlam taşıyor.

Doğu ve güney Afrika'daki 1983 – 1985 arasında meydana gelen Sahel kuraklığında, Birleşmiş Milletler ajansları 22 milyon insanın yaklaşık 20 kadar ülkede etkilendiğini belirtmiştir. Diğer yandan 1991 – 1992 yılları arasında Somali'de meydana gelen kıtlık sonucunda ne yazık ki 5 yaşın altındaki çocukların dörtte biri hayatını kaybeder. 1970'li yıllardan itibaren Sahel'de meydana gelen çölleşme sonucunda toprak tarımsal işlevini kaybetmiş ve göçlere yol açar. İnsan topluluklarının bu göçler nedeniyle içyapılarında bir takım kopmalar yaşamaları dil birlikteliğine de zarar verir. Yine Birleşmiş Milletler'in 1998 yılındaki raporuna göre, Sudan'ın 29 milyonluk nüfusunun %10'u hem iç savaş hem de kıtlık nedeniyle açlık riski altında kalır. Bu durum tehlike altındaki dilleri daha da kötü bir hale dönüştürür. HIV / AIDS Afrika'da pek çok ülkeyi olumsuz etkilemiş ve ölümlere yol açmış olsa dahi konuşulan dil çeşitliliğinin Botsvana, Namibya, Swaziland ve Zimbabwe'de az olması nedeniyle hastalık 15 – 15 yaş grubundaki bireylerin dörtte birini etkilemiş ve dilsel bir tehlike yaratmaz. Öte yandan örneğin Nijerya'da HIV / AIDS yüzünden ölümler az olmasına rağmen dil kayıpları daha yüksek orandadır (Crystal, 2014, ss. 17, 96).

Kırsal kesimde yaşayan insanların daha iyi iş ve yaşama olanakları bulması umuduyla kentlere göç etmesi ve farklı bir dili kullanma zorunluluğu yerel diller için ayrı bir yok olma tehlikesi nedeni yaratır. Daha önceki kırsal yaşantılarında kendi kararlarını veren topluluklar kent ortamında artık uymaları gereken bir düzende yaşamak zorundadırlar. Popüler kültür ve medyanın baskınlığı karşısında ister istemez geleneksel yaşam biçimlerini sürdürmek neredeyse imkânsız hale gelir (Crystal 2014, s. 101).

Kırsal bölgeden kentsel bir yere göç edilmesinden sonra anadil aile ve aile yakınında bulunan akraba ve tanıdıklar arası kullanımla sınırlıdır bir başka deyişle kırsal kesim geleneksel dilin kent ortamında dış etmenlere dayanabildiği sürece varlığını sürdüren bir yapıyı oluşturur. Dışarıdan gelen sosyal ve politik etki dalgası kentsel yaşama geçmiş sayı olarak az üyeye sahip grupların özellikle de gençlerinin anadillerini kademeli olarak daha az kullanmaya iter. Bu durum doğal olarak anadilin aile bireyleri ve akrabalar arasında kullanılmasına, dış dünyada ise ikinci dilin zorunlu olarak konuşulmasına yol açan bir durumdur. Zamanla ikinci dildeki kullanım yetkinliği ve sıklığı genç bireyler arasında daha da artar ve giderek ikidillilik yerini yeni dilin kullanımına ve tercih edilmesine bırakır. Bu aşamada artık eski dilin yeni kültürdeki sosyo-kültürel ve ekonomik bağlamlardaki kullanımı açısından gereksinimleri karşılamadığı bir düzeye ulaşılır. Ardından eski dilin aile ve yakın çevrede çok daha az kullanılan *yarıdilli* bir evreye gelinir. Kırılma noktası olarak da tanımlanabilecek bu aşama yok olmaya yüz tutan bir dilin geriye döndürülüp canlandırılması için son aşamadır (Brenzinger ve ark., 1991, ss. 31, 32; Crystal, 2014, ss. 103-104).

Afrika'da yaklaşık 200 yıl kadar süren ve Avrupa'daki imparatorluklar tarafından yürütülen ve kentleşme odaklı sömürgeleşme hareketi İngilizce, Fransızca ve İspanyolca'nın kıtada kültürler arası bir iletişim ve ticaret dili olarak yayılımını beraberinde getirir. İkinci Dünya Savaşından sonra sömürgelerin ortadan kalkması ve bağımsız devletlerin kurulması sonucunda idari, sağlık ve eğitim gibi hizmetlerin sağlanması yerel halk tarafından gerçekleştirilmeye başlar. Öte yandan sömürgeler tarafından zamanında uygulanmaya çalışılan batılılaşma hareketinin bir uzantısı olarak kıta ülkelerinin büyük çoğunluğu ve bazı Avrupa ülkeleri arasında sosyo-kültürel ve ekonomik anlamdaki iletişim devam eder. Sömürgeleşme döneminin başlamasıyla kıtada daha çok İngilizce ve Fransızcanın kültürel ve sosyo-ekonomik yapılarıdaki değişimlere bağlı olarak yaygınlaşması yerel dillerin bir ölçüde ötelenmesine yol açar. Diğer taraftan söz konusu dillerin baskınlıklarına karşı direnen ülkelerde yerel bir dil genellikle metropol dili olmayı başarabilir (Nettle & Romaine, 2000, ss. 143 - 145).

Çoğu bilimsel araştırma ve yayında verilerinden yararlanan *Ethnologue*'un internet sitesinde kıtalar ve ülkelere göre detaylı haritalarda sayılar nüfus, kurumsal dil, gelişmekte olan dil, güçlü dil, tehlikede olan dil ve yok olmakta olan dil ölçütlerine göre gruplandırılır.



Şekil 2. Afrika kıtasında dillerin durumsal dağılımı <https://www.Ethnologue.com/region/africa>, (2020)

Ethnologue dünya dillerinin yaklaşık %20'sinin yok olmak üzere olduğunu belirtir. Afrika'da 54 dil tamamen yok olmuşken 116 dil yok olma tehlikesi ile karşı karşıyadır. Avustralya'da 250'ye yakın Aborijin dilinin %90'ı neredeyse tamamen yok olur. Buna ek olarak tahminlere göre üç kuşak sonra göçmenlerin anadillerini kaybederek İngilizceye geçilebileceği tahmin edilir (Tao, 2019, s. 38). *Ethnologue*'un (dünyanın diğer kıtaları ve ülkelerini de benzer şekilde yansıtan) Afrika ile ilgili sayfasında nüfusla birlikte dillerin kurumsal, gelişen, güçlü, tehlikede ve nesli tükenen ölçütlerle belirlenmiş sayısal dağılımları doğu, kuzey, batı, orta ve güney bölgeleri ve bu bölgeler içinde yer alan ülkelere göre sunulur. Kıtasal olarak yukarıdaki haritada da sunulduğu gibi kıta genelinde yok olma tehlikesi ile karşı karşıya olan dil sayısı 373, nesli tükenen dil sayısı ise 129'dur. Bölgelere göre tehlike altında bulunan ve yok olmuş dillerin sayıları şu şekildedir:

| BÖLGELER | TEHLİKE ALTINDA OLAN DİL SAYISI | NESLİ TÜKENMİŞ DİL SAYISI |
|--------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Doğu Afrika | 66 | 22 |
| Kuzey Afrika | 40 | 15 |
| Batı Afrika | 117 | 48 |
| Orta Afrika | 142 | 36 |
| Güney Afrika | 8 | 8 |

Şekil 3. Afrika'da bölgelere göre tehlike altında olan ve nesli tükenmiş dil sayıları, <https://www.ethnologue.com> (2020)

Daha önceden Fishman (2001) tarafından geliştirilen ve halen *Ethnologue*'un editörlüğünü yapan Simons ve Lewis tarafından 2013 yılında daha da geliştirilen ölçeklere göre diller *Genişletilmiş Kuşaklar Arası Bozulma Ölçeği* (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale "EGIDS") kullanarak dil canlılığına göre sınıflar. Aşağıdaki tabloda gösterilen ölçeklere göre dilin kullanım içeriğine göre güçlü, tehtid altında ve tehlike altında olup olmadığı saptanır.

| GDKABÖ -Genişletilmiş Dereceli Kuşaklar Arası Bozulma Ölçeği Düzeyi | Sınıf | Tanımlama | UNESCO'ya göre |
|--|----------------|---|----------------------------|
| 6a | Güçlü | Dil, tüm nesiller tarafından sözlü olarak kullanılır ve çocuklar tarafından ilk dili olarak güvenli bir şekilde öğrenilir. | Güvende |
| 6b | Tehtid Altında | Dil, tüm nesiller tarafından sözlü olarak kullanılır, ancak çocuk sahibi neslin yalnızca bir kısmı çocuklarına dili aktarılır | Zayıf |
| 7 | Değişken | Çocuk sahibi nesil, dili kendi arasında kullanacak kadar iyi biliyor ancak hiçbirini çocuklarına aktarmıyor. | Kesinlikle tehlike altında |

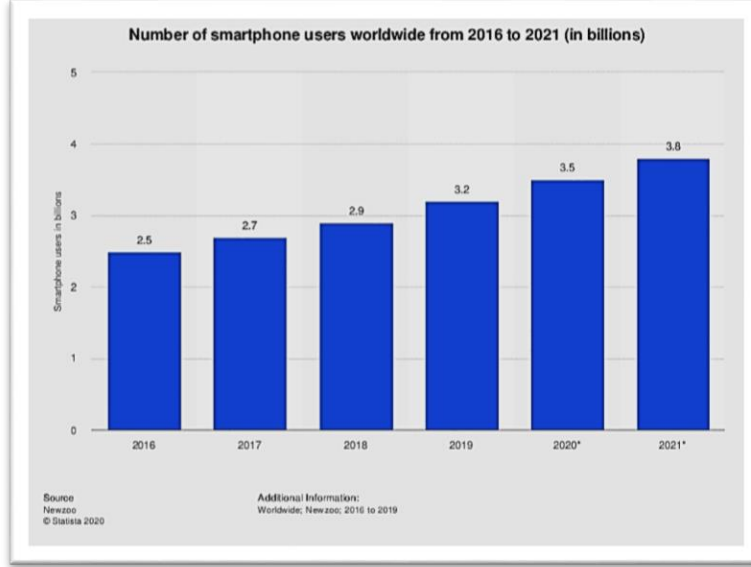
Şekil 4. Genişletilmiş Dereceli Kuşaklar Arası Bozulma Ölçeği Düzeyi (Sands, 2017, s. 11).

Dil ölümleri temelde üç aşamalı olarak gelişir. Bunlar dıştan gelen kültürel, politik ve ekonomik etmenler, bireylerin konuşma davranışları ve tercihler ve bunların sonucunda dilin sesbilgisi, sözdizimi, anlamsal ve sözcük bilgisi yapılarındaki değişimler olarak sıralanabilir. Bunlara ek olarak bir dilin yok olması kültürel değerlerin, gelenek ve göreneklerin, etnik kimliğin ortadan kaybolmasına yol açar. Bir kültüre ait bilgi yumağının taşıyıcısı olarak dilin önemi yadsınamaz ve bir dilin yok olması uzun yıllar boyunca birikmiş ve kuşaktan kuşağa aktarılmış kültürel öğelerin de yok olması anlamına gelir. Dilin yok olmasına bağlı olarak kültürel mirasın da ortadan kalkmasının insanlığa zarar getireceği unutulmamalıdır. Bir kül-

türe ait bilgi yumağının taşıyıcısı olarak dilin önemi yadsınamaz ve bir dilin yok olması uzun yıllar boyunca birikmiş ve kuşaktan kuşağa aktarılmış kültürel öğelerin de yok olması anlamına gelir. Dilin yok olmasına bağlı olarak kültürel mirasın da ortadan kalkmasının insanlığa zarar getireceği unutulmamalıdır (Haruna, 2003, ss. 189 – 190; Tao, 2019, s. 40).

Dili Canlandırma ile İlgili Mobil Uygulama Örnekleri

Dünya üzerinde akıllı telefon kullanıcılarının sayısı giderek artış gösterir. Amerikan *Statista* (<https://www.statista.com/statistics/330695/number-of-smartphone-users-worldwide/>) firmasının hazırladığı ve 2016 yılından bu yana akıllı telefon kullanıcılarının yıllara göre artışını gösteren grafikte, 2021 yılı için bu sayının yaklaşık olarak 3,8 milyar kişi olacağı tahmin edilir. Statista Inc. (2020)

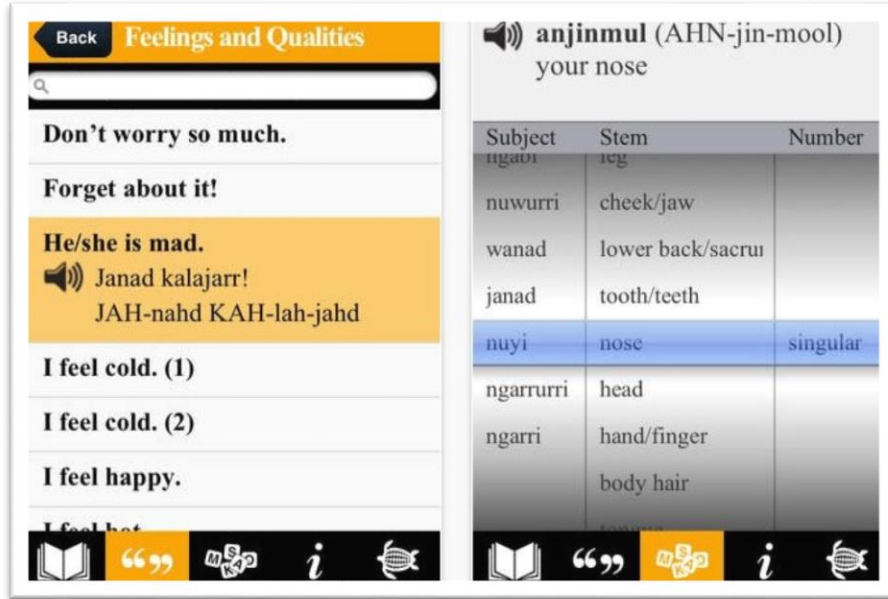


Şekil 5. Dünya üzerinde akıllı telefon kullanımı sayıları (<https://www.statista.com/statistics/330695/number-of-smartphone-users-worldwide/>) (2020).

Daha önceden bilgisayar ortamında program olarak yer alan ve “bilgisayar destekli dil öğretimi” çerçevesinde kullanılan, daha sonra internet ortamında bir sunucu tarafından verilen ve çoklu medya ile uyumlu akıllı telefon uygulamalarına dönüşen ortamlar, kullanıcılarına gerek sözlük ve gerekse yabancı dil eğitimi açısından çok çeşitli, farklı yaş gruplarına yönelik ve sosyokültürel öğelerin tanıtıldığı çoklu ortamlı süreçleri verir. Alan yazında kaybolmaya yüz tutmuş Afrika dilleri hakkında yapılmış formal bir mobil telefon uygulamasına rastlanamaz. Ancak akıllı telefonlarla ilgili olarak alanyazına geçmiş bir çalışma Avustralya’da, diğer çalışma ise Amerika’da bulunur.

Avustralya’nın Kuzey Bölgesi’nde bulunan Darwin kentinin güneybatısında yer alan bölgelerde konuşulmakta olan *Tyikim* dil grubuna ait *Marrithiyel* dilini yaklaşık 100 kişi konuşmakta ve doğal olarak bu dil tehlike altında olan bir kategoride değerlendirilir. Charles Darwin Üniversitesi, Kuzey Enstitüsünde (*Northern Institute*) öğretim üyesi olarak görev yapan Payi Linda Ford’un bir *Marrithiyel* konuşucusu olan annesi, 2007 yılında ölmeden önce kendisinden *Tyikim* dillerini korumasını talep eder. Ford tehlike altındaki *Tyikim* dilinin kurtarılmasına yönelik akıllı telefon ve kitle kaynaklı yazılım teknolojisinin kullanıldığı bir projede yer alır. Bu projede kendisine Avustralya Ulusal Üniversitesi (Australia National University) Asya Pasifik Yüksekokulu’ndan Dilbilimci Bruce Birch yardım eder. Projenin bir ürünü olan bu mobil uygulamanın pilot çalışmaları Portekiz, Kamerun ve Papua Yeni Gine’de yapılır. Yapılan bu deneyimlerdeki temel amaç uzak yerlerde yaşayan yerel konuşucuların antropolojik dilbilim ya da sayısal kayıt ve veri işleme alanında bir uzmana gereksinim duymaksızın veri toplama sürecine dahil edilmesidir. Avustralya İstatistik Bürosu (Australian Bureau of Statistics) Avrupa’dan Avustralya’ya doğru yerleşim sürecinin başlarında 500’den fazla diyalekt ve 250 ayrı dilin varlığını tahmin eder. Bu dillerden günümüzde sadece 120 kadarı varlığını sürdürür ve sadece 13’ü yaşamaya devam edecek güçtedir. Yaklaşık 100 kadar dil yok olma tehlikesi ile karşı karşıyadır. (<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-10-28/phone-apps-used-to-save-endangered-indigenous-language/5847640>). Bir bakıma mobil uygulamalar hem kaybolma tehlikesi içinde olan diller için bir veri toplama aracı hem de tehlike altında olan Afrika

kıtasında ve dünyanın diğer yerlerinde bulunan dillerin yeni nesillere aktarılmasını sağlayacak sanal bir kaynak olarak görev üstlenebilir. Aşağıdaki şekilde akıllı telefonlar için *Marrithiyel* uygulamasından alınmış ekran görüntüleri yer alır.



Şekil 6. Akıllı telefonlar için *Marrithiyel* uygulamasından ekran görüntüleri. <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-10-28/phone-apps-used-to-save-endangered-indigenous-language/5847640>.

Amerika'da ve Kanada'da yaklaşık 200 kadar yerli dilin konuşulduğu ve bunlardan yaklaşık 100 kadarının yok olduğu ileri sürülür. 1990'lı yılların başından itibaren bu dillerin sadece % 11'i ebeveynlerden çocuklara geçer bir oranda aktarılır ve bu oran giderek azalan eğilim sergiler. Buna rağmen kabileler yok olma tehlikesi ile karşı karşıya gelen dillerini kurtarmak için çaba sarf eder. Bu konuda gerçekleştirilen değişik programlar yaşlı ve yerel dili iyi konuşan bir kişi ile bir öğrencinin bir araya geldiği meslek edinme programları, yoğunlaştırılmış yerel dil öğrenme kursları, YouTube'da yer alan yerel dili öğretmeye yönelik videoların hazırlanması, internet üzerinden canlı görüşmelerin yapılması gibi çeşitlilik gösterir. Mobil telefon uygulamaları kullanım oranı gençler arasında daha fazladır. Mobil aygıtlarda kullanılan bir takım çeviri ara yüzleri diller arasındaki iletişimi kolaylaştırır ancak çeviri programları kaybolma tehlikesi yaşayan dilleri barındırır. Bunun yerine daha çok tehlike altında olan diller için yok olmaya yüz tutmuş dilleri öğreten ya da kullanıcılarına görsel ve işitsel yolla sözcük, kalıp ve tümce bilgisi aktaran mobil uygulamaların kullanılması giderek artar. Bu konuda Amerika'da Cherokee diline ait bir uygulama 2000 yılında Thornton Media tarafında böyle bir veri tabanının oluşturulabilmesi için yaklaşık 170 kadar farklı kabileden 70 ila 80 kadar dil toplanması yapılır. İlgili yazılım firması 4 gün içerisinde 500 sözcük veya kalıbı içeren bir aplikasyonu oluşturulur. Bu uygulamanın içerisinde aynı zamanda geleneksel şarkılar ve fotoğraflar da yer alır. (Rindels, 2013).

Mobil Uygulama Oluşturmak İçin Olası Süreçler

Tehlike altındaki dillerin kurtarılmasına yönelik okullarda yapılan eğitim programları ve çoğunlukla erişkinlere yönelik sosyal etkinlikler sıklıkla uygulanmakta olan yöntemlerdir. Bir kültüre ait olan dil kullanıcılarında kültüre ait olma duygusunu oluşturur. Aynı kültürden olan insanları bir arada tutan bağlar dil sayesinde işlev kazanır (Mirza & Sundaram, 2016: 226). Kaybolmaya yüz tutmuş bir dilin kurtarılması sürecinde birincil adım o dile özgü sözlü ve yazılı bir bütüncenin oluşturulmasıdır. Böyle bir bütünün içeriğinde aynı zamanda halk hikâyeleri ve geleneksel şarkılar da yer alabilir. Başka bir deyişle sadece dilin değil ilgili toplumun sosyokültürel mekanizması kayıt altına alınabilir. Bir kültüre ait özelliklerin bir süreç bağlamında öğrenilmesi ve yeni nesillere aktarılması *kültürlenme* (Kottak, 2017) olarak tanımladılır. Bu bağlamda dil edinildiği ve öğrenildiği sürece yeni kuşaklara aktarılabilir. Gerek okul öncesi ve gerekse okul sonrası işleyen sosyokültürel öğrenme süreçleri dilin toplumda yayılmasını ve yaşamasını sağlayan önemli bir aşamadır. Aynı kültürden olan insanları bir arada tutan bağlar dil sayesinde işlev kazanır (Mirza & Sundaram, 2016, s. 226). Bu noktada toplumdaki etkileşimi gerçekleştirmek dışında dilin ait

olduğu kültürün yeni kuşaklara aktarılmasında yaşamsal öneme sahip olduğu unutulmamalıdır. Bir kültüre ait olan dil kullanıcılarında kültüre ait olma duygusunu meydana getirir. Dil ve kültür birbirini destekleyen ve besleyen devingen bir yapı sergiler.

Tehlike altında bulunan bir dilin kurtarılmasına yönelik bir mobil uygulamanın oluşturulabilmesi beş aşamanın gerçekleşmesi gerekir (Mirza & Sundaram, 2016, s. 229). Birinci aşamada sözcükler, kalıplar, deyimler, hikâyeler ve şarkılardan oluşan yazılı, görsel ve işitsel bir veri bütünü oluşturulur. Bunun ardından ikinci aşamada dilbilimciler oluşturulan verilerin sistemli bir şekilde gruplanması ve dilin bir haritasının çıkmasını sağlar. Eğitimciler ise sınıflandırılmış dilbilgisi öğelerinin etkileşimli ve çoklu ortamın kullanılmasının gerçekleştiği dil öğretim yöntemlerinin tasarlanmasını gerçekleştirir. Beşinci aşamada ise mobil yazılım mühendisliği yardımıyla uygulamanın hayata geçirilmesi ve sanal ortamda yayılması gündeme gelir. Günümüzün gelişmiş kayıt ve veri işleme yöntem ve araçlarıyla kaybolma tehlikesi ile karşı karşıya kalan bir dilin örneklerini oluşturmak ve saklamak için geçmişle kıyaslandığında bilgisayar, sayısal kayıt aygıtları ve mobil telefonda uygulamalar hem verinin daha hızlı kayıt altına alınmasını hem de internet ve mobil teknolojinin kullanılmasına bağlı olarak uzak mesafelerden çok hızlı ve düşük maliyetle veri alınmasına olanak tanır. Tehlike altındaki dillerin tekrar canlandırılması ve yaşatılması bağlamında disiplinler arası bir yaklaşımın sergilenmesi daha verimli sonuçlar doğuracaktır (Steven, 2018). Bu bağlamda antropolojik dilbilimciler, eğitimciler ve yazılım uzmanlarının etkileşimde buldukları bir çalışma modeli geliştirilmelidir. Bunun yanı sıra veri toplama bakımından yerel konuşucuların da bu sürece dahil edilmeleri ve kendilerinin mobil veya başka nitelikteki sözlü ve yazılı dil öğelerini kendisinin kaydederek sisteme yüklemesinin sağlanması da aşamadaki veri toplama hızına ve etkinliğine katkıda bulunacaktır. Yok olmaya yüz tutmuş bir dilin yeniden canlandırılması için oluşturulacak veri tabanında dili konuşan topluluğun farklı cinsiyet ve kuşaklarından örneklerin toplanması bütünlük açısından önemli olduğu unutulmamalıdır. Yok olmaya yüz tutmuş bir dilin yeniden canlandırılması için oluşturulacak veri tabanında dili konuşan topluluğun farklı cinsiyet ve kuşaklarından örneklerin toplanması bütünlük açısından önemlidir.

Sonuç

Bilgi ve iletişim teknolojilerinin günümüzde eğitim ve öğretim alanında etkili olarak kullanılması gelişen taşınabilir akıllı telefonlarda ya da tabletlerdeki uygulamalarda fazlasıyla göze çarpar. Anadilin bilinmesi toplumdaki bireyleri hem geçmişine bağlar hem de toplumun kültürel değerlerinin korunup yaşamasına olanak tanır. Dillerin yeniden canlandırılması süreçlerinde yeni teknolojinin kullanılması yok olma tehlikesi altındaki Afrika dilleri için etkin bir yöntem olarak kullanılabilir. Görsel ve işitsel ortamlarla desteklenen özellikle dili gelecek kuşaklara taşıyacak gençlere kullanımı pratik ve popüler sanal ortamlar yaratabilir ve sayısal teknoloji yardımıyla uygulama programlarında teorik olarak sonsuza dek yaşayabilir. Akıllı telefonlarda tehlike altındaki dillerin yeniden canlandırılması ile ilgili sistemlerin işlerlik kazanabilmesi için uygulamaların ilgili toplumda yaşayan gençler arasında yaygın kullanımının sağlanması önemlidir. Ancak mobil veya bilgisayar destekli uygulamaların oluşturulma sürecinde dilbilimcilerin, eğitimcilerin, yazılım uzmanlarının etkileşim içinde bulunması gerekir. Buna ek olarak yok olma tehdidi altında olan dillerini canlandırmaya yönelik mobil uygulamalar gerçekleştirmek isteyen yönetimler için bütçelendirme konusu da göz önünde bulundurması gereken bir ölçüttür. Günümüzün gelişmiş kayıt ve veri işleme yöntem ve araçlarıyla kaybolma tehlikesi ile karşı karşıya kalan bir dilin örneklerini oluşturmak ve saklamak için geçmişle kıyaslandığında bilgisayar, sayısal kayıt aygıtları ve mobil telefonda uygulamalar hem verinin daha hızlı kayıt altına alınmasını hem de internet ve mobil teknolojinin kullanılmasına bağlı olarak uzak mesafelerden çok hızlı ve düşük maliyetle veri alınmasına olanak tanır. Tehlike altındaki dillerin tekrar canlandırılması ve yaşatılması bağlamında disiplinler arası bir yaklaşımın sergilenmesi daha verimli sonuçlar doğuracaktır. Bu bağlamda antropolojik dilbilimciler, eğitimciler ve yazılım uzmanlarının etkileşimde buldukları bir çalışma modeli geliştirilmelidir. Bunun yanı sıra veri toplama bakımından yerel konuşucuların da bu sürece dahil edilmeleri ve kendilerinin mobil veya başka nitelikteki sözlü ve yazılı dil öğelerini kendisinin kaydederek sisteme yüklemesinin sağlanması da aşamadaki veri toplama hızına ve etkinliğine katkıda bulunacaktır (Steven, 2018).

Akıllı telefonlar ve bunlara bağlı uygulamaların daha çok genç nüfus arasında kullanıldığı bilinen bir durumdur. Tehlike altındaki dillerin konuşucuları bu süreçte daha çok veri tabanının oluşturulmasında uygulamada var olan senaryo kapsamında sözcük, kalıp ve tümceler okunması veya geleneksel hikâyelerin anlatılmasında yer alır. Her ne kadar gerçek hayattaki *kültürlenme* ortamı gibi olmasa da eğitsel içerikli mobil uygulamalar daha çok genç nüfus tarafından kullanılır. Bir bakıma bu türden sayısal bir

ortam günümüzün bir kültürlenme seçeneği olarak değerlendirilebilir. Bir tür eğitsel *benzetim* (simülasyon) yöntemi olarak da değerlendirilebilecek bu uygulamalar gerçeğinin yerini tutmasa da tehlike altındaki dillerin yok olmasına karşı alınabilecek bilgisayar ve sayısal ortam temelli yapıtlar olarak değerlendirilebilir. Mobil bir uygulamanın ortaya çıkarılmasında yerel konuşucular, dilbilimciler, eğitimciler ve yazılım mühendislerinin bir arada çalıştığı bir düzen tasarımılamak en önemli adımlardan bir tanesidir. Böyle bir düzen içerisinde her bir modülde yer alan katılımcılar katkıda buldukları içeriğin diğer uzmanlık alanları tarafından çeşitli dönütler verilerek ne kadar işleve sahip olduğunu da deneyimler. Şüphesiz bu türden yayınların izlenebilmesi ya da takip edilebilmesi dilin kaybolmasını engelleyici bir çabanın Afrika'daki ülkelerde ilgili toplumun bireylerinde var olması ya da oluşturulması gerekir.

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INTRA-INTERGROUP CONFLICTS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: A CRITICAL REFLECTION ON INDIGENOUS AND EXTERNAL CAUSAL FACTORS

RESEARCH ARTICLE

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Intra-Intergroup Conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Critical Reflection On Indigenous and External Factors

ABSTRACT: This study discerned that prior to colonial intrusion conflicts existed in the African society, but usually in the context of conquest, expansionism or reassertion of supremacy. However, the advent of colonialism feasted on the existing primordial incongruities between ethnic groups; hence, seeded inter-ethnic consciousness as a divide and rule tactics for the advancement of their objectives in the usurped colonies. Following the fall of colonialism, the postcolonial African societies were built on unresolved/hibernated ethnic rivalries, which protruded and remained extant from the Cold War era hitherto. However, this study revealed that ethnic consciousness in Africa, such as that of Nigeria and Kenya, predates colonialism, but was exacerbated by the Cold War gladiators, and the postcolonial African leaders. Therefore, intra-intergroup conflicts in Africa are attributable to endogenous and exogenous factors. Central to the objective of this study is the advocacy of mutual coexistence of ethnic groups in heterogeneous societies such as Nigeria, Kenya, Ethiopia, Cameroon and other African states. In addition, the need for leaders to narrow horizontal inequalities which is a potential source of ethno-religious consciousness, and threatenful to nation building project. Frances Stewart (1998) framework of horizontal inequalities was adopted in this study in that it critically explicated how inequalities along primordial lines can be a threat to nation building in a multicultural society. In addition, theory of primordialism featured greatly in this study as it explains the inevitabilities of primordial loyalties in multi-ethnic nation states. The findings of this study, coupled with the substantive frameworks adopted, points to the need that African nations should collate horizontal inequalities data respectively, in a bid to ascertain whether groups are proportionally represented or not in public offices. The need to deconstruct colonial constructions, to attenuate catalyst of conflict is sacrosanct to amicable coexistence and nation building in African nations.

Keywords: Conflict, Colonial and Imperialism, Intergroup conflict, Intragroup conflict, Precolonialism, Postcolonialism

Conflits intra-intergroupes en Afrique Subsaharienne : une réflexion critique sur les facteurs autochtones et externes

RESUME : Cette étude a discerné qu'avant l'intrusion coloniale, des conflits existaient dans la société africaine, mais généralement dans un contexte de conquête, d'expansionnisme ou de réaffirmation de la suprématie. Cependant, l'avènement du colonialisme s'est régalé des incongruités primordiales existantes entre les groupes ethniques ; par conséquent, la conscience interethnique a été semée comme une tactique de division et de domination pour l'avancement de leurs objectifs dans les colonies usurpées. Après la chute du colonialisme, les sociétés africaines postcoloniales ont été construites sur des rivalités ethniques non résolues / hibernées, qui ont fait saillie et sont restées existantes de la guerre froide jusqu'à présent. Cependant, cette étude a révélé que la conscience ethnique en Afrique, comme celle du Nigéria et du Kenya, est antérieure au colonialisme, mais a été exacerbée par les gladiateurs de la guerre froide et les dirigeants africains postcoloniaux. Par conséquent, les conflits intra-intergroupes en Afrique sont imputables à des facteurs endogènes et exogènes. Au centre de l'objectif de cette étude se trouve la promotion de la coexistence mutuelle des groupes ethniques dans des sociétés hétérogènes telles que le Nigéria, le Kenya, l'Éthiopie, le Cameroun et d'autres États africains. En outre, la nécessité pour les dirigeants de réduire les inégalités horizontales qui sont une source potentielle de conscience ethno-religieuse et menaçante pour le projet de construction de la nation. Le cadre des inégalités horizontales de Frances Stewart (1998) a été adopté dans cette étude en ce qu'il expliquait de manière critique comment les inégalités selon des lignes primordiales peuvent être une menace pour la construction d'une nation dans une société multiculturelle. De plus, la théorie du primordialisme figurait largement dans cette étude car elle explique les inevitabilités des loyautés primordiales dans les États-nations multiethniques. Les résultats de cette étude, associés aux cadres de fond adoptés, soulignent la nécessité pour les pays africains de collecter respectivement des données sur les inégalités horizontales, afin de déterminer si les groupes sont représentés proportionnellement ou non dans les fonctions publiques. En outre, la nécessité de déconstruire les constructions coloniales, d'atténuer le catalyseur du conflit est sacro-sainte pour la coexistence amicale et l'édification de la nation dans les pays africains.

Mots clés : Conflit, Colonial et impérialisme, Conflit intergroupe, Conflit intragroupe, Précolonialisme, Postcolonialisme

Introduction

African politics attracted global attention from decolonisation hitherto due to the plethora of conflicts spurred by constellation of factors such as historical, economic, political, and social certainties that distinct the continent from others across the globe. For instance, the Armed Conflict Database (ACD) enumeration of civil conflict based on a threshold of 1000 battle deaths indicated that around 8.5% of country-years in Africa since 1950 are characterised by large-scale conflicts compared to 5% of country-years in the rest of the world over the same period (Besley & Reynal-Querol, 2013, p. 2). Scores of growth-hindering factors like ethnonational, inter-ethnic, interreligious, intrareligious, ethnoreligious, intra-ethnic, and interstate conflicts remain primordial and contemporary specificities of the African continent although on an unequal scale.

A society riddled with growth-hindering factors such as conflict, corruption, and ethnic bigotry, is bound to be distracted from nation-building projects; inter alia, conflict is a major factor inhibiting development in the contemporary Africa, as it was in the period of the Cold War and after. The questionable reality of the African society threatens the well-being of Africans, and it accounts for their overflowing presence in the developed societies. Conflict is a potential push factor that spurred the emigration of Africans to the global North. Political instability in Africa has scores of undercurrents traceable to pre-colonial, colonial, glaring neurosis, and unhealthy consciousness exuded by most African nationalist leaders. For instance, intra-ethnic conflicts predate colonialism, and it is evident in the history of most African societies such as South Africa and the Yoruba nations to mention few. Similarly, in the postcolonial phase, ethnic groups rose against each other; however, ethnic conflicts in the postcolonial Africa is different from that which existed in the precolonial epoch as it is not conquest motivated but politically accelerated by political gladiators' encroachment on primordial loyalties for strategic political gains as it was in the case of Kenya, Ghana, Northern Nigeria, Ivory Coast, and Dafur. In addition to the above claim, Aepenugo (2010), asserts that:

"There is a general perception that Africa is trapped in a never-ending cycle of ethnic conflict. The Rwandan genocide, Darfur, northern Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire, and the violent aftermath of the controversial Kenyan elections, among other cases, seemingly substantiate this perception. As grievances accumulate and are defined at the group rather than individual level, the motivation for reprisals is never ending. The centuries-old inertia behind these animosities, moreover, defies resolution. The seeming implication is that Africa's complicated ethnic diversity leaves the continent perpetually vulnerable to devastating internecine conflict. This, in turn, cripples prospects for sustained economic progress and democratization. In fact, ethnicity is typically not the driving force of African conflicts, but a lever used by politicians to mobilize supporters in pursuit of power, wealth, and resources. While the ethnic group is the predominant means of social identity formation in Africa, most ethnic groups in Africa coexist peacefully with high degrees of mixing through interethnic marriage, economic partnerships, and shared values. Indeed, if they did not, nearly every village and province in Africa would be a cauldron of conflict."

Following an observation of the pattern of postcolonial African conflicts, it was discovered that colonialism fostered inter-ethnic consciousness as multiple opposing cultures were welded into a collective identity such as postcolonial African nation states 'Rwanda, Cameroon, Nigeria, and Kenya etc.' However, this is not to claim that the problems afflicting the African continent only emanated from ethnic rivalries caused by colonial imposed borders, but also from vacuum of good leadership and goodwill. Upon this premise, it is evident that conflicts in Africa are attributable to internal and external sources. Nevertheless, this hypothesis will be critically explicated in subsequent pages.

Bujra (2002) and Stewart (1998), elucidated that intragroup conflict in Africa has pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial dimensions; ethnic conflict in Africa predates colonialism, although in this face it was not in large-scale. Conversely, colonialism created conflict enhancing factors like homogenization of heterogeneous African communities 'ethnic nations'. favouring one ethnic group to the deprivation of others; subjecting inexperienced African leaders to a state of management and nation building, coupled with management of imported constitution which they barely understood.

The postcolonial period started in the 1960s when the ideological war between the Western and the Eastern blocs was rife; African states were caught in between the two mighty political and economic giants. Each of the two conflicting blocs vied vehemently for strategic space in Africa; USA annexed Zaire, while the Eastern threw its weight behind Angola. The Cold War period saw the emergence of strongmen in Africa, as a result of the external supports of their allies. The strongmen, unfortunately, turned despotic, and advanced ethnic consciousness by manipulating primordial loyalties simply to remain in power. The corollary of the emergence of strongmen in African politics is the ubiquity of weak

institutions.

This study will make a critical analysis of intragroup conflict in Africa since it is a concept that enshrines variations of conflict within the continent. Similarly, conflicts within a nation are generally intragroup conflict but can be divided into subgroups such as intra-ethnic, inter-ethnic, inter-religious, and intra-religious conflicts. For a better analysis of this conundrum, this work will be divided into six segments; viz: conceptual definition, theoretical background, pre-colonial, colonial, Cold War, and post-Cold War era. Furthermore, a critical assessment of the causal relationship between the identified phases 'pre-colonial, colonial, postcolonial' will be strongly considered. This thematic division is vital to this discourse in that it will enhance the understanding of how conflict endorsing factors were seeded in Africa and moved from one era to the other. In addition, it will bring to the fore how conflict endorsing factors were carried from one phase to the other. However, the main purpose of this work is to find out whether external factors are the sole causes of intra-intergroup conflicts in sub-sahara Africa or not and the consequences of horizontal inequalities. The study is focused on analysing conflicts in precolonial sub Sahara Africa, and how it started from one epoch and extended to succeeding eras. In addition, it aims to bring to the fore that identity politics in Africa predates colonial intrusion but was amplified by colonialism and postcolonial sub-Saharan African leaders.

Conceptual definition/clarification

Conflict

Conflict is an inevitable reality of human society; political, cultural, and economic events has proved the inevitability of conflicts such as the Cold War, Rwanda genocide, Boko Haram occupation, killer herds-men and crisis in the anglophone region of Cameroon. Closer (1964) cited in Thakore (2013, p. 7) is of the view that human interactions are a sociation, in that it could be associative or dissociative; therefore, conflict is an inevitable fact of human reality. In the view of Closer, conflict in its nature deters or solves the possibility absolute fission. In consonance to the above view of conflict, Bohannan cited in Thakore (2013, p. 7), sees conflict as inevitable to humanity, just as culture is intrinsic to human society, as it controls and brings about better social development and order. To Schellenberg cited in Thakore (2013, p. 7), conflict is neither praiseworthy nor condemnable, but it is essential to the social life of human.

Thakore (2013, p. 7) sees conflict as a medium of expression of hostility, dissatisfaction, antagonism, rivalry, and misunderstanding. In addition, conflict has to do with opposing views, interests or incongruities emanating from the convergence of two or more values or philosophies. In a nutshell, common to conflict is the burning desire to gain recognition, acceptance, or to wield influence over the other; it is an inevitable fact of living creatures' interpersonal relations. Animals, humans, companies, states, insects, and philosophies are leashed to the inevitability of conflict by nature.

Intragroup conflict

Conflict has been conceived as inevitable in human social relations which deters or solves absolute fission. Conflict unfolds at multiple levels such as within group members and between groups. Intragroup conflict is infighting or incongruities within a group. The prefix 'intra' simply means 'within'; this means that intra-conflict in its simplest sense means conflict within a group. Thakore (2013, p. 9) accented that intragroup conflict unfolds simply within a group, and there are two typologies of intragroup conflicts which are resource and relationship conflicts. Resource conflict has to do with the distribution of resources, where some members are abundantly served, and others underserved. This is a type of conflict common in a multiracial or multicultural society. The underserved members of a group often have the proclivity to pose mild or violent resentment in a bid to have their needs or rights observed. Relationship conflict as explicated by Thakore (2013, p. 9), is a variation of intragroup conflict resulting from social incompatibility which often triggers annoyance, animosity, intolerance, and rivalry. Relationship conflict is an inevitable phenomenon of human relations. Zeleza (2002, p. 6) listed the following as intra-state conflict: secessionist wars, irredentist wars, wars of devolution, wars of regime change, wars of social banditry, and armed inter-communal insurrection. The examples of intra-conflicts highlighted by Zeleza (2002, p. 6) featured in the precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial African societies.

Intergroup conflict

Contrary to intragroup conflict, intergroup conflict is centred on group rivalries, competition, or incongruities between groups for one objective or the other. A group could be a nation state, ethnic group, race, class, region or organisation. Thakore (2013, p. 9), asserts that competition can heighten conflict between groups. Examples of intergroup conflicts are interstate conflict, inter-ethnic conflict, and inter-regional conflict.

Intra-intergroup conflict

Intragroup conflict is incongruity or disagreement within a group, while intergroup conflict, is incongruity between groups. However, conflicts in Africa present a case of existence of intergroup conflict in an intragroup. Meaning, Africa as a continent embodies the existence of multiple nation states. Nation states as a group equally has subgroups within them, hence clashes sporadically. For instance, Nigeria from a global or continental level of analysis is a group, against this premise, conflict within Nigeria is intragroup conflict, as conflicting groups are all Nigerians. From a national level of analysis, conflict within Nigeria or in any African country can be identified or labelled as intergroup conflict due to the heterogeneity of most African nations. For instance, Nigeria has experienced interethnic conflict as did Rwanda. Similarly, Nigeria has experienced inter and intra-religious/party conflicts.

Precolonialism

This is the epoch in the civilization of Africa that preceded colonial usurpation, occupation, and balkanization of the African society into nation states. The precolonial African society featured the existence of kingdoms and empires controlled mostly by centralised monarchs in the acephalous societies and council of chiefs in the non-acephalous societies (Besley & Reynal-Querol, 2014, p. 10). Prior to the imposition of national identities on African societies, the African continent was an encapsulation of communitarian states, also known as ethnic nations, such as the Zulu, Xhosa, Ndebele, Sotho, Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Shona, Luo, Masai, and Tswana nations. The African continent was made up of autonomous indigenous entities where each had its system of governance, language, material and non-material cultures.

Colonialism and Imperialism

Colonialism is conceived as the period that saw the formal usurpation of colonies by colonial masters 'British, France, Portugal'; this was the era that some indigenous political systems were destroyed, and others reinforced. Similarly, nation states were created along colonial lines without consideration of ethnic autonomy in Barling in 1884 (AHA, 2020); slave trade thrived, forward linkage, westernisation of colonies, importation of constitution, and consolidation of western values to the detriment of indigenous heritage were all elements of colonialism. Kohn & Reddy (2017), sees colonialism as the removal of humans from their geographical habitat and relocating them in a territory alien to them, where they became settlers but upheld political allegiance to their ancestral source. Imperialism on the other hand is the authority of one country over a foreign territory by means of settlement, sovereignty, or indirect mechanisms of control. The conception of imperialism and colonialism proved pertinent to the explanation of the political logic that altered the indigenous evolution of the African society, and equally explained the deconstruction and construction of the African continent.

Postcolonialism

This is the epoch that saw the debacle of colonial occupation, destruction of colonial heritage, maintenance of colonial heritage and the refinement of colonial heritage. Similarly, postcolonialism saw the transfer of political and economic power from traditional political elites to western educated African political elites, constitutional supremacy, convergence of indigenous and western cultures, and the existence of autonomous ethnic entities in a collective national identity such as Nigeria, South Africa, Cameroon, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Togo, Burkina Faso, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gambia and many others.

Theoretical Background to the Study

The work of Frances Stewart (1998) proved relevant to this discourse for its elucidation and dissection of the root cause of conflict which according to him is traceable to economic, political, and cultural factors. To Stewart, these factors are almost impossible to disentangle because each element is embedded in the other. The aforementioned trios are independent variables which determine peace or conflict in any given society. Stewart (1998) work was based on the identification of root causes of Complex Humanitarian Emergencies "CHE"; horizontal inequality was identified as the root cause of most organized conflicts across the world, although only when it coincides with identity.

Similarly, the primordialist accounts of conflict proved relevant to this study as it explains the existence of ethnic groups and nationalities based on their predication on primordial sentiments in the context of material and non-material cultures which encapsulates philosophies, geographical location, and language. Central to the primordialist accounts is the bond of kinship between members due to their shared primordial cultural and philosophical heritages. The pioneer of primordialism theory is Clifford Geertz, who argued that each human has a natural attachment to his or her ethnic group (BAČOVÁ V., 1998).

Furthermore, Geertz cited in BACOVÁ V. (1998, p. 31), that primordial ties in certain conditions can be a potential source of conflict when there is convergence with other primoradial loyalties and can be destructive to civic society or nation state. Bačová, V. (1966) cited in Bačová V, (1998, p. 32) stressed that "central to primordial inclinations is history and ancestor in the development of a community. The relevance of primordialism is strongly pronounced in this study, as it would be used for the analysis of intragroup conflicts in Africa. Furthermore, in this study there will be a synergy of the primordial theory and horizontal inequality, as the primordial theory strongly emphasised identity, and the latter focused economic inequality coupled with primordial identities such as ethnic, gender, and religion.

The theory of primordialism proved relevant to the understanding of intergroup conflicts.

Horizontal inequality does have political, economic, and social dimensions; it is a key element in understanding the factors spurring group violence in a given society. Lonsdale cited in Stewart (1998, p. 9) claims that in Kenya, conflict between political elites for state control, hence economic power is the main source of political tribalism. It is an instance showing how economic interest mixed with political ambition can be a catalyst of identity politics or divided loyalties.

Violence, to its instigators is not an end but a means; instigators of violence often declare their objective as political to secure power, which they believed would yield economic benefit provided their activism prevail. Organised bellicose groups often tie political interest to economic interest and this fact differentiate crimes from politically oriented conflicts (Stewart, 1998, p. 8). Furthermore, Stewart made a glaring distinction between horizontal and vertical inequality in respect to its conflict potentiality.

Horizontal and vertical inequality in relation to conflict

In the logic of Stewart (1998), inequality cannot unilaterally trigger intra-intergroup conflicts, but when intertwined with identity, conflict becomes inevitable and imminent; for instance, Kenya, Thailand, Pakistan, and Brazil have record of high inequality, but these countries record low on conflicts. It somehow can be because of the improved living condition in the countries, or the state capabilities to curb potential conflicts (Stewart, 1998, p. 18). Inequality is a potential source of conflict, but the horizontal inequality precisely due to its synergy with group identity.

Measurement of inequality is traditionally done vertically; it measures individuals' asset from top to the bottom of social hierarchy. In other words, traditional inequality measurement is vertical, and it only takes into account economic status of individuals. On the other hand, a horizontal measure of inequality makes a better analysis of conflict, because it measures inequality along social markers, such as geographical region, ethnic group, gender identity, and religion (Stewart, 1998, p. 18).

High level of horizontal inequality is likely to trigger conflict, although it depends on the importance or influence of the group or groups involved; for instance the Khoisan in South Africa has increasingly expressed that since the fall of apartheid, they have not been fairly represented and treated despite being the foremost primordial ethnic group in south Africa (Mitchley, 2019).

The agitation of the South African Khoisan ethnic group has not gone past mild protest from its inception

hitherto; this can partly be because the Khoisan group has been rendered inconsequential by dominant ethnic groups such as the Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Ndebele, Venda and Tshonga that has occupied key public offices in the country from 1994 to date. Even in a society where groups are very small, when there is too much discrimination or marginalisation, the potential of conflict can be robust (Stewart, 1998).

Horizontal inequality analysis can best describe the issues that precipitated the Rwanda genocide of 1994, the ethnonational conflict ongoing in Cameroon at the moment, and the secession agitation of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) in the contemporary Nigerian society. Although, Stewart cautioned that data may not be available for horizontal inequality, since government often concern itself with the measurement of income inequality. However, government in a politically tensed society could display reluctance in providing horizontal inequalities data due to hypersensitivity it might arouse. But the need for provision of horizontal inequality is essential for peacebuilding in a society but should be classified and used for policy purposes (Stewart, 1998, p. 19).

Indicators to be considered in the compilation of horizontal inequality data, could be the extent of political representation, regional data to represent differences among ethnicities, distribution of lands, revenue allocation, distribution of national infrastructures, and award of national scholarships.

Horizontal inequality between groups in Africa evidently has an undertone of primordial loyalties such as ethnic and religious consciousness; it is validated in the 8.5% of country-years in Africa since 1950 that was characterised by large-scale conflicts. The four phases 'precolonial, colonial, Cold War, and postcolonial' that would be discussed in the subsequent pages all has a glaring undertone of horizontal inequality coupled with identity politics. Evidently, in the African reality, not all regions in nation states are equally developed, not all ethnic groups are equally privileged, and not all ethnic groups have equal access to political and economic privileges. There is always one group benefitting to the detriment of the deprived groups. The Department for International Development (2001, p. 13) identified inequality between groups as the root cause or primary cause of conflicts in Africa, and further categorized other sources as secondary and tertiary.

Precolonial African Conflicts and Legacy

Conflict is an inevitable phenomenon in human society due to multiple factors such as clash of primordial loyalties and philosophies, dispute over resources such as lands and other resources. However, central to the existence conflict is the need to achieve individual or group desires. The reality and prevalence of conflict could have people think or assume that it is a phenomenon alien to Africa, or an inevitability brought into existence in the continent by colonialism. Contrariwise, intragroup and intergroup conflicts in Africa predate colonialism; in fact, the precolonial African continent featured intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic conflicts which were mostly based on territorial expansion, quest for political offices and battle of lands. The precolonial Africa featured state and stateless societies (Bujra, 2002, p. 22; Timothy and Reynal-Quero, 2014, p. 11).

Bujra (2002, p. 22) observed that conflicts in the acephalous societies were limited. The acephalous societies were non-expansionists. Inter-ethnic conflicts were mostly caused in the Southern Kaduna by disputes over land ownership, control of fishing and hunting areas. The difference with conflicts in the acephalous society is that it is usually on a small scale. For instance, in the Northern precolonial Nigeria, inter-ethnic conflicts occurred between the Southern Kaduna zone and the proximate emirates. The conflicts were feudal and was mostly orchestrated by the Hausa Muslims. Central to the conflicts between the Hausas and the acephalous people of the Southern Kaduna, was the expansion of the Hausas on the ground of international trade. The agents of the Hausa feudal Lords indulged in slave raids which weakened and depopulated the Southern Kaduna.

The precolonial African conflicts were a process of indigenous state building as it was in the medieval Europe for instance, this was the case in Bunyoro-Buganda conflict in the present time Uganda as far back 1600. Similarly, Songhai-Gourma conflict in today's Mali in the 1488. In the precolonial epoch, records proved the occurrences of civil wars between kingdoms; however, the political historical accounts of Africa submitted by anthropologists echoed that territorial wars were more pronounced (Timothy and Reynal-Quero, 2014, p. 11). Radcliffe-Brown (1940) cited in Timothy and Reynal-Quero, (2014, p. 11) claimed that:

“Amongst the various different kinds of warfare that can be distinguished, what we may call wars of conquest have been important in Africa, as they have been in Europe. When such war is successful it establishes one people as conquerors over another who are thus incorporated into a larger political society, sometimes in an inferior position as a subject people.”

The above submission is evident in the expansion of the Oyo Empire, the Zulu kingdom, the Ndebele in modern-day Zimbabwe and others. According to the historical accounts of the Oyo Empire penned by ethnohistorian Ogunmola (2010, pp. 6,7), it was deduced that three significant missions championed by Basorun Yamba and Gbonka Latoyo saw the defeat of the Dahomeans and was annexed under the administration of Alaafin Ojigi of the Oyo empire. The accounts of the Oyo empire expeditions during its golden age in foreign territories featured expansionism, usurpation of existing monarch as it was in the case of Allada and Whydah in the modern-day Republic of Benin. In the quest for expansionism Alaafin Ojigi visited Abomey with three invasions. All conquered territories were absorbed into the Oyo Empire prior to colonial intrusion which saw the balkanisation of Africa (Ogumola, 2010, pp. 7,8).

Similarly, the account of Shaka Zulu’s expedition revealed that fundamental to his occupation was expansionism. Shaka Zulu defeated Zwide, and destroyed the Ndwandwe Kingdom; following the conquest, Shaka wielded absolute control over the heartland of Nguni (Allen, 2014, p. 9). Precolonial conflicts were chiefly one of conquest, expansionism, and resource accumulation; while the intra-ethnic conflicts were either caused by insurrectionism or competition for public office, as it was in the case of Yoruba ethnic-nation civil war of Ekiti Parapo, Afonja and Bashorun Gaa quest for power.

The Kiriji war also known as Ekiti Parapo war spanned for a period of 16 years between Ibadan and Ekiti which are the subgroups of the Yoruba ethnic group. The cause of the conflict was the aspiration of Ibadan to exercise authority over other sub Yoruba groups perceived as passive following the debacle of the hegemonic Oyo Empire. The Kiriji war unfolded between the Western and Eastern Yoruba blocs. The Western Yoruba bloc led by Ibadan included Offa, Modakeke and all Oyo forces, while the Eastern Yoruba bloc led by Ijesha comprised other Yoruba groups such as Ekiti, Ife, Igbomina, Akoko, Egbe, Kabba and the Oworro, Lokoja- Kogi State. However, the Kiriji war was different from preceding ones where medieval weapons and voodoo such as cutlasses, bows, poisoned arrows, cutlasses, knives, spears, and swords were used, but the Kuruji war featured the use of canons which was the first of its kind in Yoruba intra-ethnic conflicts (Shittu, 2019; Ogundero, et al., 2015).

The above examples are a scintilla from the scores of conflicts that characterised the precolonial African societies. The conflicts were intragroup and intergroup in nature, but the common ground was expansionism, quest for hegemonic status and resources. However, the disputes in the precolonial era created consciousness along ethnic lines which remain indelible hitherto. Past conquests by monarchs and warriors created territorial disputes that reverberate to this day and so shape contemporary politics (Reid 2012, cited in Besley & Reynal- Querol, 2013, p. 12). Similarly, Jack Paine cited in Knispel-U (2019) stress that: “Many African countries have experienced considerable ethnic strife.” “These tensions have roots in deeper historical events. Frequently, precolonial political organizations sowed the seeds of later discord”

War of conquest caused by expansionism and the need for resources in the precolonial African society, triggered ethnic consciousness which was further exacerbated by the colonial creation of nation states which conjoined autonomous ethnic groups in a collective national identity. The hibernated unresolved conflicts across African societies were carried over to the colonial phase (Bujra, 2012, p. 29); the hibernated unresolved conflicts turned out to be a potential tool in the hand of the colonial masters. The imperialists awareness of Africa’s pre-colonial past assisted them in administering direct and indirect colonial rule in Africa. It can be labelled desocialisation and re-socialization; meaning destruction and disruption of African indigenous evolution, and initiation of Africans into a foreign culture.

Conflict causing potentials in the precolonial phase: the war of conquest, reciprocal killings over kin, heterogeneity, quest for scarce resources, the quest for hegemony, sub-Saharan slavery and slave trade, and strong inclination to primordial sentiments. The precolonial African history was characterised with goriness as conflicts was a humdrum (Bujra, 2002, p. 29). Upon this premise, no doubt that the sociocultural, socio-political and socioeconomic activities of the founding fathers of the precolonial African societies, coupled with colonial intrusion precipitated conflict causing factors in the postcolonial Africa. The subsequent pages will make emphasis on how colonialism exacerbated conflict trigger factors,

and how they used it to their advantage.

Colonial Conflicts and Legacy in Africa

Colonial conquest in Africa was met with resistance from the indigenous population, but the resistance was frail, and as a result of this, the foreign explorers/exploiters wielded control; existing hostilities in the African societies under colonial dictates, directly and indirectly were exacerbated by the colonial administrators (Bujra, 2002, p. 29). However, Ethiopia was an exception, in that the country warded off colonial intrusion (Austin, 2010, p. 6). After the Western conquest of African territories, colonial administrative offices were established; scores of colonial models were adopted. Direct rule, indirect rule, paternalism, assimilation for effective control of conquered territories, and settler approach were adopted in their occupation. South Africa for instance, was a settler colony and this accounts for the uniqueness of South Africa's colonial experience. South Africa was colonised by the British through the Dutch East Indian Company (DEIC) led by the Voortrekkers 'Boers'; however, the Voortrekkers who owed allegiance to the Queen of England turned against the British, embraced the South African identity and colonised the Black South Africans till the black south Africans gained their freedom after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Contrariwise, British adopted indirect rule in most of its colonies, France and Portugal adopted direct colonial style and paternalism.

In spite of the dissimilar colonial approach across the African continent, there were scores of common experience Africans suffered in the hand of the colonial masters. Colonial experience was a bitter one; it exposed Africans to a culture of violence, it disrupted Africans way of life, and imposed on them a foreign culture which threatened the survival of their indigenous way of life. Kingdoms were reinforced in places where indirect rule was applied, some monarch were relegated, trade in slavery, exploitation of natural resources, pilfering of artefacts, welding of ethnic nations, introduction of western education, and importation of Western religion (Bujara, 2002, pp. 29-32; Besley & Reynal- Querol, 2013, p. 12).

The colonial period was characterized by the importation of foreign culture, the creation of single based economy which mostly benefitted colonial exploiters and their African patrons, acceleration of identity differences, and homogenization of heterogeneous African communities "artificial borders." The above synopsis of colonialism in Africa simply indicated how the intrusion of colonial masters and their legacies exacerbated challenges of the African societies. This is not to say that prior to colonial intrusion Africa was free from conflicts; conflicts in Africa predates colonialism but it was mainly a conflict of conquest not that of hatred created and nurtured by colonialism.

Importation of foreign religion and education

Foreign culture in Africa is a social package which enshrines language, education, model of governance, rules and regulation, fashion taste, and even the type of foods consumed; it is an encapsulation of imported material and non-material cultures. But emphasis will simply be on language, model of governance and mode of education since this topic is based on factors blowing the ember of intra-conflict in Africa. Colonialism brought French, English, and Portuguese to Africa; these languages are beneficial to Africa, but they also seem to be a source of division in Africa. For instance, the ongoing ethnonational conflict in Cameroon has a glaring connotation of lingual differences, despite all effort made by the Cameroonian government to blur the division along colonial language lines, the anglophone and francophone Cameroonians remain strongly divided along colonial lines; similarly, it is a problem encountered at the regional and continent levels. Francophone countries in Africa blend better with one another compared to the anglophones and Lusophones. Ethnically, Cameroon is heterogenous, but colonially bilingual; despite the cultural heterogeneity, the country is only divided along colonial lines.

The colonial masters used education to divide Africans as it was in the case of Nigeria; non-Moslems in the north were taught how to read and write, they were given Christian education which made them literate. Although this was because church schools were the only dominant academic institution for acquiring education, and slowly they converted to Christian. On the hand, Moslems maintained their religion but were less educated compared to the African Christians during the colonial occupation. It is a fact that precipitated group consciousness between the Christians, Muslims, and the traditionalists specifically the Southern Kaduna region of Nigeria (Bujra, 2002, p. 12).

Ethnic conflict in Southern Kaduna took the form of Muslim versus Christianity polarity. The 1980s saw

the escalation of religious fundamentalism coupled with an influx of foreign ideas on Muslim and Christian sect (Bujra, 2002:21). Unfortunately, in this contemporary time, the Southern Kaduna region of Nigeria, Burkina Faso, and Mali are plagued by ethno-religious crisis which claims the life of people almost daily (Akhaine & Abdulganiyu, 2020; ICC, 2020; CSW, 2020; Balestrierie, 2020).

In as much as monotheism is an imported heritage in Africa, it is starting to take the shape of a primordial heritage as it shapes the identity of Africans. This accounts for the existence of ethno-religious crisis as opposed to the past ethnic crisis. In addition, it is arguable that ethnic and religious consciousness have been used by political profiteers in a clandestine manner for the advancement of their politic objectives. Recent events, especially in Nigeria, Mali, and Burkina have proven the existence of ethno-religious politicisation. Similarly, Aapenguo (2010, p. 2) strongly stress that, ethnicity is not the core driving force of conflict in Africa, but a tool used by political profiteers for the mobilisation of supports in pursuit of strategic interests. It is an indication of encroachment in primordial loyalties, a type of divide and rule tactics that pits one group against the other, hence consolidating horizontal inequality.

Colonial economic disruption

Colonial administrators disrupted precolonial economic model and replaced it with a single based economy which saw the exportation of raw materials to Western countries; this model of economy accelerated rivalries in almost all African states as it introduced private ownership of lands. Private and commercial farming led to the shortage of arable lands, and economic differentiation between groups and nations (Bujra, 2002). Similarly, Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson and James A. Robinson (2001; 2002) cited in Austin (2010, p. 10), maintain that:

“Africa’s relative poverty at the end of the 20th century was primarily the result of the form taken by European colonialism on the continent: Europeans settling for extraction rather than settling themselves in overwhelming numbers and thereby introducing the kinds of institution (private property rights and systems of government that would support them) that, according to Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson, was responsible for economic development in Europe and the colonies of European settlement in North America and Australasia.”

For instance, in peasant colonies where lands were directly in the hand of Africans, the service sectors were absolutely monopolised by the Europeans, coupled to this was the policy of coercive recruitment consolidated by colonial administrators to work either for the state or private enterprises. This was the reality in peasant and settler colonies (Fall 1993, Northrup 1988 cited in Austin, 2010, p. 4).

Commercial utilization of fertile lands by the colonial masters subjected peasant farmers to misery, which later became a source of conflict, and also conflict over other resources. This was accompanied by uneven development which indicated the difference between the privileged ethnic groups in the well-developed urban areas, and the deprived ones subjected to underdeveloped areas. It led to the migration of people from rural and underdeveloped areas to the developed/urban areas; class formation consciousness equally has its source in the uneven development (Bujra, 2002, p. 31).

Similarly, in the Southern African region where the colonialist had settler colonies, for mining and commercial farming, legacies of discords were seeded in the form of land usage, recruitment, and administration. Arable lands were occupied by the settlers, civilian laws were imported from metropolitan countries simply for the settlers, minority group were imported from Asian and other African countries to work in service sectors as clerks. The settler colonies were manned by blacks under the control of colonial and settler officers. The aftermath of the economic legacy pitted ethnic groups against one another, as those that benefitted from colonial occupation and the oppressed groups harboured deep seated animosity against one another. Unfortunately, this legacy remains extant and accounts for identity politics in Africa hitherto. Bujra (2020, p. 30) asserts that:

“The conditions for conflict between different ethnic groups, between the colonised and the colonisers, and between the different racial groups were created and deepened. As a result, there were many conflicts all over Africa resulting from the political and administrative system of the colonial situation, which took place, and which were unreported.”

The economic disparities between the rural and urban settlements commenced in 1900; it became glaring in the 1950s; this period also saw an expansion of the African population. The economic process and ballooning population triggered tensions and conflicts over scarce resources like arable lands across the African continent. In the Urban settlements, the conflict was purely between the pauperized majority and the colonial authorities; the enraged groups were the pauperized landless peasants, the

small poor traditional farmers, and the pastoralists who lost lands and cattle. The enraged groups resented their own people too who benefited from the colonial administration. This was how economic factors reactivated the hibernated ethnic conflict in the colonial era and carried it over to the postcolonial phase (Bujra, 2002, pp. 30-31).

Colonial political structure and its conflictual legacy

The political structure of the colonial authorities took the form of direct and indirect rule, assimilation and paternalism. The political structure seeded by the colonial powers has glaring catalyst of conflict, in that it lacked even distribution of power between ethnic groups, instead, an ethnic group was picked to pre-empt over other groups. Kingdoms were empowered and retained to serve the interest of the imperialists (Bujra, 2002).

The colonial administration was comprised of selected indigenous people and the whites who were on ground to fulfil the objectives of their sending nations. The selected traditional rulers were given more political power which automatically generated economic opportunities, while the majority were subjected to deprived. As a result of the bias political structure established by the colonialist, the common Africans had a series of violent altercations, which led to conflict with the privileged Africans during the colonial reign, and this deepened old conflicts which manifested in the postcolonial African societies. The primordial conflicts exacerbated by colonialism protruded in Nigeria, Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda (Bujra, 2002, p. 30).

Similarly, DFID (2001:13) made allusion to primordial sentiment as a strong causal factor of conflicts, which proved the most difficult to resolve. Central to this, is horizontal inequality, which pits one or more ethnic groups against others as it was in the case of Rwanda, DRC, and Burundi. Similarly, it is the case in the contemporary Southern Kaduna in the northern region of Nigeria, where Hausa/Fulani Muslims in the form of killer herdsmen, Gunmen and bandits are alleged of incessant sporadic attacks on indigenous inhabitants of Southern Kaduna. Observers claimed that the incessant killings in the Southern Kaduna region has an undertone of ethno-religious conflict, while the government's body language to the conundrum is questionable as the attackers' act with impunity (Ewang, 2020; Channels Television, 2020).

The colonial authority deliberately indulged in the selection of particular ethnic groups and showered them with preferential treatment, as the new chiefs, civil servants, as recruits into the police and army. This explains why some Africans are privileged to be educated and wealthy compared to the ostracised majority from other groups (Bujra, 2002, p. 30); it is a validation of Stewart (1998) claim that "horizontal inequality mixed with identity, is a potential catalyst of conflict in any given society." Horizontal inequalities coincided with identity politics in the colonial era, and it was carried over to the postcolonial, as a result of this, the African continent finds itself in rigid identity politics in an ethnically diversified nation state.

The colonial political structure can best be labelled as the divide and rule type as it pitted ethnic groups against one another, and consolidated uneven development which saw the acceleration of persons from rural to urban areas. The colonial political structure mitigated inter and intra-ethnic conflicts but seeded ethnic conflict by propagating horizontal inequality which saw one ethnic group privileged and others deprived. The seeded ethnic conflict metamorphosed into ethnic consciousness following the fall of colonialism and led to widespread ethnic rivalry.

Bujra (2002, p. 21), noted that:

When Nigeria got its independence from the British in 1960, the various contradictions and points of inter-ethnic conflict had not been resolved. The post-colonial order was founded on the same socio-economic and political structures which were already in existence.

Based on the above premise, colonialism reinforced ethnic consciousness in Africa, by building on primordial sentiments, and passing imbalanced political and economic system to postcolonial African leaders.

Postcolonial African Conflicts

Postcolonial African conflicts are sharply distinct from the typology of conflicts that characterised the

precolonial and colonial epochs. This is because conflicts of the postcolonial African societies featured ethno-religious consciousness, large-scale inter and intra-ethnic conflicts, inter and intra-religious conflicts, and inter and intra-political party conflicts coupled with global conflict such as that of the Cold War and terrorism. However, evidence in the conflicts that characterised the postcolonial African conflicts are a long unresolved conflict carried over to the postcolonial phase from the precolonial and colonial periods. The post-colonial African conflicts were triggered by scores of factors such as inept nature of African leaders, interference from colonial masters, the Cold War blind support, ethnicity, corruption, human rights abuse, and economic crisis. However central to the postcolonial African conflicts is the prevalence of horizontal inequality fostered by political profiteers. Two zeitgeists clouded the euphoric decades of the African society: the nationalist leaders reign and the Cold War (Bujra, 2002, p. 32).

The euphoric decade (1960-1970)

African states gained independence in a period of conflict between the Western European and Eastern European blocs, but this was not instantly a source of conflict in Africa (Bujra, 2002, p. 32). Ethnic consciousness that were seeded during the colonial phase were carried over to the postcolonial era where it proved instrumental in the hands of political profiteers. However, the euphoric atmosphere (nationalist government era) in early postcolonial Africa maintained a decade "1960-1970" of peace which suppressed inherited conflicts (Bujra, 2002, p. 32). Partly, the euphoric decade could be due to the belief that since colonialism had fallen, collective interest of the society would be prioritised, but unfortunately individual and political party expediency loomed largely which later thwarted the euphoric decade. Albeit, the euphoric decade recorded few interstate conflicts and rebellion against internal sovereignty but on a small-scale (Bujra, 2002, p. 32). Bujra cautioned that the euphoric decade should not be tagged conflict free, in that media coverage and research data collection of conflicts in this phase was a challenge, therefore, many conflicts went unrecorded and were not even noticed by the government. As put by Bujra:

It is important, however, to remind ourselves that during this period there were many smaller or low intensity conflicts, especially those between ethnic groups, which went unnoticed. For example, there were violent conflicts over land disputes in Kenya, Nigeria, Sudan, etc.; there were also inter-ethnic urban conflicts in Zambia, Kenya, Nigeria, etc.; and some antigovernment rebellions in Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Zanzibar, etc (2000, p. 32).

The early postcolonial Africa was profoundly under the influence of Western powers whose primary interest was simply to promote their national interest by exploiting the ignorance of the African nationalist leaders. Overt and covert operations were instigated by the colonial powers in Africa, although it was done in the form of technical assistance, whereas the primary objective was to exploit inept nationalist leaders (Bujra, 2002, p. 32).

It was the grip of colonial powers on African nationalist leaders, that initiated some African States in the Cold War, but not at the same level; some African states like Zaire, Mozambique, and Angola were fully involved in the Cold War, but at a quasi-level. The involved African countries were divided along ideological lines, rejuvenated ethnic conflicts, and this period also saw the heavy influx of funds from the Cold War warriors to the involved African leaders. The Horn of Africa and Southern African region were hotly contested by the superpowers. Furthermore, it was observed that the Cold War reinforced interstate conflicts such as the conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia which lasted up to 1980s (Zezeza, n.d., p. 4; DFID, 2001, p. 7). The euphoric decade featured interstate conflict in the Horn of Africa and Southern African region which were accelerated by the East and West blocs. Zezeza (n.d., p. 4), argued that Cold War facilitated the decolonisation movement but equally gave the African leaders the avenue to manipulate the rivalries of the East and West blocs. However, the deeds of African leaders during the Cold War persisted, even after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1991.

Institutionalisation of ethnic consciousness in the euphoric phase

Ethnic consciousness was evidently seeded by the colonial administrations and advanced by the nationalist leaders in the euphoric phase from 1960 and 1970. However, ethnic consciousness preceded colonial occupation in Africa, as it is evident in intra-ethnic conflicts and inter-ethnic conflicts, but it was obviously reinforced by the colonialist to the advantage of their colonial occupation. The conundrum of ethnic consciousness in Africa is that successive powers at one time or the other in history had used it for political and economic gains. It was used strategically by the colonial masters, nationalist leaders, and in the contemporary Africa used by political profiteers to the extent that it has manifested as a core

determining economic and political factors in Africa. Bujra (2002, p. 18) made allusion to how catalyst of conflicts was seeded in Nigeria and Kenya by the colonial usurpers and how it was carried on to the postcolonial Africa.

Nigeria

Idowu (1999) cited in Bujra (2002, p. 18), argue that the continuous conflict in Nigeria took political dimension due to the absence of democracy, the badly structured Nigerian federal system fuelling ethnic loyalties, the monopolisation of the central government by the northern Hausa/Fulani, and the oppression of other regions and ethnic groups.

Contrary to Idowu (1999), Bujra (2002, p. 19) ascribed the prevalence of conflict in the postcolonial Nigeria to the dearth of genuine citizenship, and existence of baffling contradiction, such as political conflict and instability, irreconcilable struggle for power, reflected in antagonism and warfare, politics of alienation, exclusion, and domination coupled with pseudo-nationalism. More so a search for the establishment of vibrant of democratic governance. The above allusions made by Idowu (1999) and Bujra (2002) evidently acknowledged bad governance as the main drive of ethnic consciousness in the post-colonial Nigeria.

Kazah-Toure (1999) cited in Bujra (2002, p.19), looked at conflict in the postcolonial Nigeria from a retrospective perspective of ethnic rivalry exported to colonial and postcolonial periods. Kazah-Ture cited in Bujra claimed that the Southern Kaduna region of Nigeria has been perforated by inter-group conflicts and tensions. Central to the conflicts is social inequality, citizenship, community rights and democracy. But the conflicts are mostly common in the rural zone which is a miniature of Nigeria the region has about forty ethnic groups.

Kazah-Toureb (1999) cited in Bujra (2002) claimed that ethnic consciousness was seeded by the colonialist administration as the emirate aristocracy were imposed on people of Southern Kaduna as overlords where the Hausas became the chiefs. All institutions in the region were under the authority of the Hausa-Fulani backed the British government. It was in this period religious divide was seeded. During colonial occupation, church schools were the dominant avenue for the acquisition of western education, and involvement in western education during this pperiod was an automatic apostasy. This fact led to a division between the Christians, Muslims and the traditionalists. Also, from 1910 the Hausa/Fulani led administration faced revolts from other ethnic groups in the region. Furthermore, in the wake of decolonisation movement, Nigeria was divided along ethnic lines on the basis of regionalism. The process of decolonisation was fraught with ethnic consciousness rather than national consciousness. Inter-ethnic consciousness was carried into the newly forged national identity 'Nigeria' that saw the welding of autonomous ethnic groups.

Bujra (2002, p. 21) asserts that "When Nigeria got its independence from the British in 1960, the various contradictions and points of inter-ethnic conflict had not been resolved. The post-colonial order was founded on the same socio-economic and political structures which were already in existence".

Hitherto, Southern Kaduna is a victim of ethnoreligious fracas which predates formal colonisation of Nigeria. Similarly, Nigeria suffers marginalisation along ethnic and religious lines as the Hausa/Fulani occupied core public offices. In addition, the contemporary Nigeria is afflicted with terrorism which has been wreaking havoc for the past two decades. The emergence of the killer Fulani herdsmen, criminal bandits and kidnappers are equally threatening the internal sovereignty of the country. In fact, Global Terrorism Index ranked Nigeria as the 3rd most terrorised country in the world due to the spate of extra-judicial killings across the country along ethnic and religious lines (Akhaine & Alabi, 2020; Uman & Arji-romanus, 2019; acaps, 2020; GTI, 2019, p. 8; Demarest, et al., 2020).

Kenya

Like Nigeria, Kenya was writhed with the prevalence of horizontal inequalities which accounts for the domination of two ethnic groups, the kikuyu and Luo, precisely at independence. Central to the prevalence of the horizontal inequality was the legacy of ethnic consciousness seeded by the colonial administration. According to Bujra (2020, p. 22), the closeness of the Kikuyu and Luo to the colonial administration was because their areas were deeply penetrated at the onset of colonial occupation in Kenya. The alliance of the Luo and Kikuyu led to the formation of KANU which became the ruling national

party, while the other ethnic groups in balancing against the Luo and Kikuyu domination established the KADU which maintained that regionalism is the way forward in Kenya's body politics as opposed to the centralised and unitary system advocated by the KANU. Bujra claimed that the centralised system of governance advocated by the KANU was aimed at the advancement of the Kikuyu and Luo interest. Jomo Kenyatta was the President of Kenya at independence, and was also the leader of KANU, while Arap Moi was the leader of KADU. In 1964 Kenyatta convinced Moi, and the two parties were merged; this was how Arap Moi of KADU became the Deputy President of Kenya.

Following the independence of Kenya, the government and political domain was clouded with the presence of the Kikuyu-Luo due to their proximity with the colonial administrators. Unfortunately, former President Kenyatta promoted ethnic interest to the detriment of national interest. The ethnic consciousness advanced by Kenyatta led to the ethnic conflicts that erupted in the Rift Valley and Coastal Region in the 1990s. After the demise of President Kenyatta, President Moi assumed the Presidency in 1978, and he observed that the strategic offices in Kenya were occupied by the Kikuyu. According to Bujra (2002), for 14 good years as the Vice President, Moi learned and perfected how his predecessor used the state as an instrument to create the domination of the Kikuyu people in strategic sectors across Kenya. In departure from his departure, President Moi was bent on addressing the challenges of horizontal inequality affecting national cohesion.

The Cold War

The Cold War was an ideological battle between the capitalist bloc headed by the USA and the socialist bloc headed by Russia; both external axes did not limit their rivalries to their region or countries, but instead stretched it beyond their regional or continental frontiers. It is upon this backdrop that the Southern and Horn of Africa was dragged into the Cold War conflict despite being newly initiated to the international community. However, the Cold War rivalries erupted when Most African nations were leashed too colonialism but was at its peak during decolonisation and after colonialism. The East and West bloc rivalries were a Cold War for the superpowers and their key allies 'NATO and Warsaw Pact; but paradoxically it reverberated into civil war in the global South, Southern Africa and Horn of Africa precisely (Zezeza, n.d., p. 4).

This study considered the Cold War occurrences as it was a catalyst of interstate and intrastate conflict in Africa. For instance, the Angola, Mozambique, DRC, Ethiopia, and Eritrea conflicts prompted by the Cold War featured interstate and intrastate conflicts.

Cold War saw the transmutation of multiparty system to one-party system, where African leaders maintained that multiparty system is a potential source of conflict and ethnic consciousness inter alia luxury for Africa. It was during the Cold War that the supported African leaders received external support to crush opposition parties despite glaring abuse of power and maladministration. The oppressive regime of African leaders led to an upsurge of coup d'état, open rebellion and secessionist movements against incumbents. The Cold War exacerbated existing conflicts in Africa by fuelling excesses of some African leaders and financing conflict in allied nations in Africa (Bujra, 2002, p. 34; DFID, 2001, p. 7). The Cold War, just like colonialism exacerbated existing conflicts, supported corrupt African leaders; it resulted in public grievances which gave room to secession threats, military usurpation and accelerated ethnic consciousness.

Trade in arms

The Cold War triggered arms trade in Africa. State to state arms transfer involved heavy, high maintenance equipment tank, transport aircraft, and jet fighters. It was a largescale destructive transaction in that era. In 1988 when Cold War was on its last leg, imported weapons amounted to more than \$4 billion. But in 1995 after the Cold War, the transaction in weapons dropped down to \$270 million. The aftermath of the heavy inflow of weapons from East and West blocs was a sharp increase in commercial arms dealing and illegal trafficking in low maintenance light weaponry like AK 47 RIFLE and rocket-propelled grenade launchers within Africa. The illegal flow of weapons and trade in weapons in Africa after the Cold War triggered large-scale conflicts in Africa since the weapons bought in the black market were used mainly by rebels and ethnic groups fighting for power (DFID 2001, p. 8).

The emergence of strongmen in the Cold War era

The Cold War fostered autocracy in Africa, it helped power-hungry leaders remain in Power despite the national meagre balance of payment account which made public welfare services almost impossible. The government inability to provide essential needs for their citizens led to heightened dissatisfaction which aroused existing ethnic consciousness. It equally provided the various bellicose ethnic activists the privilege to boost their violent aspirations against the oppressive regimes. Unfortunately, the two Cold War giants helped oppressive regimes remain in power, despite glaring corrupt practices and mal-administration (Bujra, 2002, p. 17)

Another factor that threatened the legitimacy of some African leaders was the loss of external support which weakened their political and economic strength (DFID, 2001, p. 8); it was the case in Liberia, Somalia, Sierra Leone, and Congo.

The emergence of strongmen

In the Cold War era, democracy was endangered and short-lived due to assumptions put forward by African nationalist leaders; they argued that democracy is a western dogma, some argued that it is a luxury for the African continent, and some even claimed that it is a divisive tool which fosters ethnic consciousness. But the western axis found this appealing because they knew it will facilitate their ambition just how it did during colonialism where the indirect rule was used to exploit the African people. The logic of indirect rule reverberated in the Cold War era through the emergence of strong men who promoted self-interest and interest of their western partners; this was what Bujra (2002, p. 34) labelled "blind support", but one cannot expressly assert that it was a blind support because the blind support was a means to a greedy end.

The Western leaders showed interest in curtailing intra-conflict in Africa, but it was a pretext; they picked and supported despotic leaders in Africa who used corruption, oppression, and enhancement of ethnic consciousness which divided people and plague nation-building as a tool to remain in power. The strongmen expediency led to the weakening of national institutions and continuous underdevelopment of the African continent. National resources were irrationally utilized; in the sense that it was used to sponsor division, self-aggrandizement, and conflicts of different types. Convergence of the above-highlighted factors precipitated intra-conflicts in Africa at national level "macro", "meso", "inter-ethnic", and at the grassroots levels where common people fight within themselves (Bujra, 2002, p. 35). The last leg of the Cold War saw the weakening of strongmen, the emergence of second wave of democracy, and resurgence of ethnic conflicts.

The supposed End of History in Africa

The end of the Cold War saw the fall of Berlin Wall which coincidentally triggered the fall of African strongmen, reawakened the African elites and international actors regarding the need to consolidate democracy to quell the conflagration of crises in Africa. The post-Cold War Africa received pressure from the international community to promote liberal democracy, and a consociational type of democracy in an heterogenous society, in a bid to attenuate conflict causing factors such as horizontal inequalities.

It is evident that most intra-conflict in Africa cannot be eradicated but can be resolved or managed by the devolution of power "power sharing", respect to human rights, respect for minority groups, elimination of horizontal inequalities and criminalisation of manipulation of ethnic difference.

Ethnic differences or dissimilarities on its own cannot be a potential source of intra-inter conflicts, but ethnic differences mostly erupt in cases of horizontal inequality as put by Stewart (1998, p. 19). Horizontal inequalities account for intra-interethnic and intra-ethnic conflicts that unfolded in the postcolonial African society.

As explicated by Bujra, cultural heterogeneity in a nation state is not the main driver of conflicts, but the political profiteers' encroachment in primordial loyalties. For instance, the colonial masters encroached in primordial loyalties for the advancement of divide and rule which postcolonial African leaders inherited.

In allusion to cultural heterogeneity as an independent variable in the context of conflict, Cohen (1974) cited in Stewart (1998, p. 10), has this to say regarding ethnic conflict:

Men may and do certainly joke or ridicule the strange and bizarre customs of men from other ethnic groups because these customs are different from their own. But they do not fight over such differences alone. When men do, on the other hand, fight across ethnic lines it is nearly always the case that they fight over fundamental issues concerning the distribution and exercise of power, whether economic, political or both.

The above submission of Stewart perfectly captured the primary source of ethnic consciousness in the postcolonial African society. Central to the ethnic consciousness in Kenya under President Jomo Kenyatta was lopsided political representation and economic disparity. Similarly, the Biafran war in Nigeria had glaring element of horizontal inequalities as the Igbo people cried out against marginalisation.

The second wave of democracy in Africa was expected to be a case of *End of History*, but unfortunately, the political inadequacies that characterised the Cold War era continued in the second wave of African democracy. Similarly, the third wave of democracy in Africa saw a resurgence of ethnoreligious consciousness and conflicts as it is the case in Nigeria, Mali, Burkina Faso, Chad, and Niger.

However, the ethnic consciousness that blighted national cohesion in some African countries during the euphoric phase remained indelible, as it is evident hitherto. For instance, the foremost contemporary Nigerian statesman “former President Olusegun Obasanjo and Nobel Laurette Wole Soyinka” avowedly stated that Nigeria is more polarised along ethnic lines under the leadership of the incumbent President of Nigeria.

Central to this claim according to them is based on the premise that the presence of Hausa/Fulani is alarming in core public offices and the questionable body language of the Presidency to insecurities afflicting the entire country, especially the heinous occupation of identified killer Fulani Herdsmen in none Hausa/Fulani communities across the Nigeria. Below is a submission made by former President Olusegun Obasanjo on horizontal inequalities in the contemporary Nigeria, which was surprisingly buoyed by Nobel Laurette Wole Soyinka:

“I do appreciate that you all feel sad and embarrassed as most of us feel as Nigerians with the situation we find ourselves in. Today, Nigeria is fast drifting to a failed and badly divided state; economically our country is becoming a basket case and poverty capital of the world, and socially, we are firming up as an unwholesome and insecure country. And these manifestations are the products of recent mismanagement of diversity and socio-economic development of our country. Old fault lines that were disappearing have opened up in greater fissures and with drums of hatred, disintegration and separation and accompanying choruses being heard loud and clear almost everywhere (Obasanjo cited in Iroanusi, 2020).”

“The nation is divided as never before, and this ripping division has taken place under the policies and conduct of none other than President Buhari – does that claim belong in the realms of speculation? (Soyinkka cited in Ezeamalu, 2020)”

“Does anyone deny that it was this president who went to sleep while communities were consistently ravaged by cattle marauders, were raped and displaced in their thousands and turned into beggars all over the landscape? Was it a different president who, on being finally persuaded to visit a scene of carnage, had nothing more authoritative to offer than to advise the traumatised victims to learn to live peacefully with their violators? (Soyinkka cited in Ezeamalu, 2020)” “And what happened to the Police Chief who had defied orders from his Commander-in-Chief to relocate fully to the trouble spot – he came, saw, and bolted, leaving the ‘natives’ to their own devices. Any disciplinary action taken against ‘countryman’? Was it a spokesman for some ghost president who chortled in those early, yet controllable stages of now systematised mayhem, gleefully dismissed the mass burial of victims in Benue State as a “staged show” for international entertainment? (Soyinkka cited in Ezeamalu, 2020)”

The reality of the contemporary Nigeria and its governance, in summation was captured in the opinion of Obasanjo and Soyinka. Their views and questions echoed the existence of gross horizontal inequalities in Nigeria and a rigid inclination of leaders at the helm of public affairs to primordial sentiments.

Cohen (1974) cited in Stewart (1998, p. 10) posits that men ordinarily do not fight other men over opposing customs and traditions but when they do, it is probably over fundamental issues that has to do with the distribution of economic or political power, or both. Upon this premise, unequal socio-political and economic distribution merged with primordial loyalties can be a source of potential threat to the cohesion of a heterogeneous nation state. This is a claim validated by the occurrences between African ethnic groups during colonialism, the euphoric decade, Cold War, hitherto specifically in the case of Nigeria (Okiwo 2013 cited in Damarest et al. 2020). Below is a caricature in validation of horizontal inequalities in the contemporary Nigeria, specifically in the context of political appointments and response to security threats:



(Punch Newspaper Cartoon, 2020)

However, the Nigerian State acknowledged the inevitability of consciousness along the lines of primordial loyalties caused by the colonial merging of autonomous ethnic nations. It is a realisation that birthed the existence of the Federal Character Commission (FCC), to ensure the fair representation of Nigerian ethnic groups and religions in all tiers of government and their agencies across the nation (Demarest, et al., 2020, p. 3).

Unfortunately, the existence of Federal Character Commission from its inception hitherto has been unable to narrow horizontal inequalities, especially at the federal level, it is evident in the claim of Mustapha (2009) cited in Demarest (2020, p. 7); similarly, recent opinion in response to the detractors of President Buhari's administration by an incumbent political elites has evidently indicated the existence of horizontal inequalities in Nigeria, its causal source, and inevitabilities (Sahara Reporters, 2020). Upon the premise of horizontal inequalities and rigid primordial polarity, the postcolonial African states are confronted with variations of inevitable identity politics and conflicts which has proved invincible; hence, thwarting amicable coexistence making the dividend of democracy a mirage.

Discussion

Ethnic consciousness in Africa is a primordial thing in that it predates both colonial and post-colonial civilisations. Also, the precolonial Sub-Sahara African societies had multiple occurrences of intra-ethnic and interethnic conflicts caused by factors such as expansionism and quest for arable lands. The Kiriji war between the Yorubas such is an example of precolonial intra-ethnic conflict; similarly, inter-ethnic conflicts between the Yoruba and Nupe, Yoruba and Fulani, Shonna versus Ndebele, and Zulu against other ethnic groups were evident in the precolonial era. However, before the actual consolidation of colonialism and monotheism in Africa by the colonial masters, some parts of Sub-Sahara Africa had cases of ethnoreligious crisis, such as the Southern Kaduna region of present-day Nigeria and the Western region of Nigeria occupied dominantly by the Yorubas. Hausa/Fulani Christians raided the minority Christian groups, while the Fulani Jihadist descended on the Yorubas that were dominantly animist. It is an indication that the precolonial Sub-Sahara African society was marred with ethnic, and ethnoreligious rivalries. Based on this, it can be concluded that intra- and inter-ethnic conflicts in Africa are natural phenomena.

Available shreds of evidence proved that conflicts in Africa predate colonialism; this in no small extent is appalling in that the African societies before colonial intrusion existed in their indigenous construction, but still, the conflict proved inevitable. The conflicts that characterised the precolonial Sub-Sahara African society weakened their political and economic fabrics, hence, created an avenue for the colonial intrusion. The intra- and intergroup conflicts met by the colonial masters were exacerbated, and this made the divide and rule plot of the colonial usurpers a success. It is upon this premise that it was concluded in this study that the colonial masters exploited the strong primordial sentiments exuded by the precolonial African societies.

The colonial masters in British Africa such as Nigeria, Kenya, South Africa, and Ghana adopted an indirect system of governance where indigenous political elites worked in conjunction with them, while other colonial masters adopted direct rule. The indirect rule in Sub-Sahara Africa seeded ethnic divisions as one or two ethnic groups were given particular preference compared to other ethnic groups. It was the case Nigeria, Kenya and most African nations. The colonial masters, according to the findings of this study, exploited the gaps in the precolonial Sub-Sahara African societies for the accomplishment of their colonial objectives. It was an era that saw the merging of unrelated autochthonous African

societies that ushered into nation-states. The aftermath of the colonial construction of nation-states in Africa is intra-intergroup conflicts and bias, which is stifling nation-building project and good governance. However, successive governments such as the Kenyan, Nigerian and other African governments have created commissions or bureaus to address horizontal inequalities. However, unfortunately, the problem persists as inclination to primordial sentiments has increasingly gained consciousness, hence, threatening nation-building and good governance. In the assessment of intra- and inter-ethnic, and ethno-religious conflicts in Africa, periodisation of root causes cannot be expunged. It explains why this study adopted a retrospective approach, looking at the internal and external catalyst of conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa. Besides, it validated the theory of primordialism, and horizontal inequalities adopted.

Colonialism is the first external factor that exacerbated inter-ethnic, and intra-inter conflicts in Africa; the colonial usurpers seeded conspiracy in African communities by promoting horizontal inequalities which were escalated in the Cold War. The aftermath of the seeded horizontal inequalities led to the acceleration of primordial sentiments evident in the form of nepotism, ethnic politics, and religious rivalry. The problem identified is not in the homogenisation of autochthonous societies but the consolidated horizontal inequalities which have proven to be the live-wire of primordialism in multicultural post-colonial African societies. Similarly, Cohen (1974) argued that men only become conscious of ethnic differences when fundamental political and economic privileges are unequal or inequitable. Upon this premise, primordial dissimilarities are not the problem but horizontal inequality which arouses hot primordial sentiments. However, the inevitability of horizontal inequalities in Africa can partly be blamed on the colonial reconstruction of the Africa communitarian states into nation-states.

The Cold War was a phase that triggered ethnic conflicts, cross-border wars, the emergence of strongmen, nepotism, patrimonialism, oppression, the loot of national resources, and weakening of national institution; The Cold War devalued democracy in Africa, and further reinforced primordial loyalties. There is no doubt that primordial loyalty can be cancerous to a multicultural society; primordialism gives room to ethnic consciousness, nepotism, patrimonialism, and threatens the rule of law. At extreme, primordialism fostered by horizontal inequalities can be a significant catalyst of conflict in any society be it developed or developing.

The Cold War gladiators exploited the ineptitude of African leader that was involved as the same indirect rule strategy adopted during colonialism was used. The superpowers selected some African leaders to promote objectives that were not beneficial to the nation-building of African states. In this light, it is valid to argue that the ember of conflicts in Africa was fanned by external factors such as colonialism and the Cold War; however, the machinations of post-colonial African leaders cannot be expunged.

The reality of the post-colonial African society hitherto can tempt one into thinking that the African continent is the hands of aliens, as African leaders indulged in the promotion of horizontal inequalities that has given room to the edifice of primordialism in the multicultural Sub-Saharan Africa. It is upon the premise of the unethical conducts of the African leaders that neo-colonialism thrives, and the continent continues to experience intra-inter conflicts such as intrareligious and interreligious conflicts, and sharp ethnic consciousness which is threatful to a nation-building project.

Colonial occupation revealed that colonial administrators diligently advanced the biddings of their countries, respectively. Nevertheless, contrariwise in the post-colonial era, the African administrators did the biddings of their African paymasters 'leaders'. The aftermath of a relationship predicated on loyalty as it is in most of the sub-Saharan African institutions is that it makes patrimonialism indelible. However, contemporary African leaders like the President of Rwanda and very few others are changing the tide to the promotion of national interest. However, the small number of these types of leaders in contemporary Africa is an indication that most African leaders are unwilling to rule in good faith. The disinclination of sub-Saharan African leaders to constitutional provisions where the rights of all groups are encapsulated is instrumental to the prevalence of primordial sentiments and horizontal inequalities.

The historical and contemporary realities of sub-Saharan Africa present observers with pessimism, especially when the primordial, colonial, and post-colonial factors are considered. Judging from the present, undoing colonial constructs such as nation-states, and imposed colonial languages might prove impossible, but solutions are not farfetched provide the African leaders, and people have the will to change the reality of the African society. For example, the achievements of President Kagame in Rwanda have blurred ethnic lines 'narrowed primordial sentiments', and equally narrowed horizontal

inequalities. As a result of this, Rwanda can boast of national peace in contemporary Africa. However bicultural nature of Rwanda nation-state might have aided the achievements of Paul Kagame.

Conclusion and recommendation

In conclusion, intra-intergroup conflicts in the postcolonial sub-Sahara Africa are attributable to internal and external factors. The internal factors have its roots in inherited pre-colonial identities which remains indelible despite the prevalence of nation-states and a representative system of governance inherited from the colonial masters. Intra-ethnic, inter-ethnic, and ethnoreligious conflicts remains a continuous thing in sub-Sahara Africa due to the existence of inclination to primordial sentiments caused by horizontal inequalities fostered by the postcolonial leaders. The prevalence of lousy leadership has made peaceful existence of merged multiple ethnic groups a difficult due to the presence of horizontal inequalities seeded by colonialism and advanced by the postcolonial sub-Saharan African leaders. The extant horizontal disparities, according to the findings of this study, is a potential threat to nation-building and good governance. Also, it has proven to be a catalyst of conflict in which oppressed groups assembled against the privileged groups as it was in the case of Kenya. Similarly, horizontal inequalities account for the emergence of balkanisation, and threat by the oppressed group to form a new nation as it is in the case of Biafra in Nigeria in the 70s and the contemporary. Horizontal inequalities are a significant push factor of primordial sentiments which threatens the existence of the state and stifles democratic dividend.

In a nutshell, most African leaders from the euphoric decades hitherto lacked credible commitment and have always exuded overflowing narcissism, which has precipitated protracted conflicts, as one group have access to national wealth. In contrast, other groups are either underrepresented or underserved; this is the claim of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) in Nigeria that the Hausa-Fulani under the leadership of President Buhari has occupied most significant offices at the federal level. National resources meant to accomplish social contract between the rulers and ruled were and are still squandered hitherto. The aftermath of the banality of such unethical behaviour accounts for the prevalence of poverty, unemployment, underdevelopment, ethnic consciousness and the emergence of ethnoreligious consciousness, terrorism, and secessionism in Sub-Sahara Africa.

The way forward in a multicultural society such as Nigeria, Cameroon, Kenya, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Somalia and others is primarily the goodwill of strongmen, solons, political and economic elites. Consociationalism would have been proffered, but in the absence of political leaders' goodwill, it will yield nothing laudable, as it is in the case of Nigeria and Kenya. Goodwill of leaders is a threshold that will empower constitutionalism, consociationalism, and weaken horizontal inequalities. To claim that conflicts in Sub-Sahara Africa are caused by the seminal absence of the rule of law and devolution of power is entirely invalid. Sub-Sahara African nations have the most nuanced statutes and policies. Still, the lack of goodwill and the implementation of existing laws have increasingly stifled the excellent intent of the constitutional provisions that would have effectively manage conflicts.

Furthermore, the domestication of policies that will make horizontal inequalities die a natural death should be considered. Such an approach can be the government nationalisation of student's access to certain benefits such as scholarships, medical services, and social grants. Devolution of power and consociationalism is equally a factor that can help bring down the edifice of horizontal inequalities. Also, the rights of minority ethnic or religious groups should be observed uninterrupted in a bid to deter insurrectionism or the threat of secession.

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ÖMER DERYA BEY'İN ESTERGON FETİHNAMESİ¹

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Öz: Bu çalışmada Ömer Derya Bey'e ait olan *Estergon Fetihnamesi* incelenmiştir. Fetihname, Türk-İslâm devletlerinde fethedilen beldeleri, kazanılan zaferleri anlatan şiir mektup ve fermanlarla bu fetihleri anlatan tarihî eserlerin genel adıdır. *Estergon Fetihnamesi*, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın saltanat yılları içerisinde kaleme alınmıştır. Bu eser 16. yüzyıl Osmanlı Türkçesinin dil özelliklerini yansıtması bakımından önemli bir metin olduğu kadar bahsedilen fethetme bizzat müellifin de katılıp yakından olayları takip etmesi bakımından da önemli bir tarihî kaynak niteliğindedir. Ayrıca metnin içerisinde ilgilenenler için savaş terminolojisi ile ilgili birçok terim mevcuttur. Eser sadece olay örgüsünden ibaret olmayıp metinde yer yer çarpıcı tasvirler ve sanatlı bir anlatım göze çarpmaktadır. İncelediğimiz eserin tek bir nüshası vardır ve bu nüsha da Almanya Leipzig Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi'nde bulunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ömer Derya Bey, Estergon Kalesi, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, mesnevi, fetihname

The Estergon Conquest Which Belongs To Omer Derya Bey

ABSTRACT: In this study The Estergon Conquest which belongs to Omer Derya Bey has been examined. Conquest is the common name of poetry, letters and edicts which has reported and describing the victories the conquered cities and acquired victories in Turkish-Islamic states and historical works which has told these conquests. The Estergon Conquest has written during the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent. This work is an important text in terms of reflecting the linguistic features of the 16th century Ottoman Turkish, as well as an important historical source in terms of the author's participation in the conquest and following the events closely. In addition, there are many terms related to war terminology for enthusiasts in the text. The work is not just a plot, but from time to time striking depictions and an artistic expression stand out in the text. There is only one copy of the work which we are examining and it is in the Library of Leipzig University in Germany.

Keywords: Ömer Derya Bey, Estergon Castle, Suleyman the Magnificent, mesnevi, conquest

Giriş

Osmanlı sahası klasik Türk edebiyatı Osmanlılarla birlikte var olmuş, onunla birlikte serpilmiş tarihsel uzun bir edebî dönemin adıdır. Bu süreçte hem manzum hem de mensur şekillerde birbirinden değerli eserler kaleme alınmıştır. Bu manzum ve mensur eserlerde dönemin dil, tarih, coğrafya, sosyoloji vb. bilimsel gerçeklerine ışık tutacak değerli bilgilere ulaşmaktayız.

Ele aldığımız bu eser de manzum bir fetihnamedir. Tarihsel bir vak'a olan Estergon'un Türkler tarafından ikinci defa fethini anlatmıştır. Aslında fetihname; Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda önemli bir savaş kazanıldığıında bunu diğer İslam devletlerine, hanlara, prenslere, vali ve şehzadelere bildiren fetih mektuplarına verilen isimdir. Aynı zamanda bu olayları işleyen manzum eserlere de tür olarak bu isim verilmiştir.

Çalışmamızın konusu Almanya Leipzig Üniversitesi Kütüphanesinde bulunan Ömer Derya Bey tarafından 16. yüzyılda kaleme alınan edebî eserdir. Bu eser, Estergon Kalesi'nin fethini şiirsel bir edayla anlatmaktadır. Ömer Derya Bey'in bu manzum eseri 16. yüzyıl Osmanlı Türkçesi özelliklerini yansıtması bakımından önemli bir yazılı metin olduğu kadar bahsedilen fethetme bizzat müellifin de katılıp yakından olayları takip etmesi yönüyle de önemli bir tarihî kaynak niteliğindedir.

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Bu çalışmanın ilk kısmında mesnevi ve fetihname hakkında kısa bilgilerle yetinilecek, devamında Ömer Derya Bey'in *Estergon Fetihnamesi* hakkında genel bilgiler verilip eser incelenecektir. Burada daha çok müellifin hayatı, eserin şekil ve içerik yönünden incelenmesi, Estergon Kalesi hakkında bilgiler ön plana çıkmaktadır. Eserin tek nüsha olması yönüyle nüsha tavsifi ve nüshanın bulunduğu kütüphane ile ilgili de bazı bilgiler verilecektir.

“Mesnevi” birbiriyle kafiyeli ikişerli mısralardan oluşan nazım şeklidir. Sözlükte ikişer ikişer anlamındaki “mesnâ” kelimesinin nispet eki almış biçimi olan “mesnevi” edebiyat terimi ve nazım şekli olarak ilk defa Fars edebiyatında kullanılmıştır (Çiçekler, 2004, s. 320). Mesnevi, aslı Arapça olmasına rağmen Arapçada kullanılmayan bir kelimedir. Edebiyatta her beyti kendi arasında kafiyeli, iki beyitten binlerce beyte kadar uzanan nazım şeklinin adıdır. Aynı aruz kalıbının tekrarı ile bir monotonluk ortaya çıkmaması için mesnevilerin arasına yer yer gazel, kaside, terki-i bent, terci-i bent vb. nazım şekilleri serpiştirilebilir (Pala, 2004, s. 311). Beyitlerin ayrı ayrı kafiyeli olması yanında her beytin anlamının kendi içinde tamamlanması ve öteki beytlere geçmemesi esastır. Mesneviler aruzun kısa kalıplarıyla kaleme alınırlar. Kuruluş itibarıyla mesneviler üç ana bölümden oluşur: Giriş, Asıl Konu, Bitiş. Giriş bölümünde -her mesnevide bulunmamakla beraber- besmele, tevhit, münacât, na't, dört halifeye övgü, yöneticilere veya eserin ithaf edildiği kişiye övgü, eserin yazılış sebebi yer alır. Asıl konu bölümü, öykülemeye dayalı mesnevilerde genellikle “âgâz-ı dâstan” başlığıyla başlar. Diğer başlıklar da genellikle Farsçadır. Bitiş bölümünde ise, genellikle “Hâtîme” başlığı altında, dua, övünme, eserin adı ve yazılış tarihi, okuyandan dua isteği ve mesnevinin vezni ile ilgili bilgileri içeren beyitler yer alır. Bu bölümde bazen kitabın tamamlandığı tarih de kaydedilir (Isen, 2011, ss. 224-225).

Mesnevi nazım şekli, İran edebiyatında doğmuş, buradan Arap ve Türk edebiyatlarına geçmiştir. Arap edebiyatına mesnevi Harun Reşid devrinde Âbân el-Lâhikî'nin (öl. 815) Pehlevî dilinden çevirdiği *Kelile ve Dimne* eseriyle girmiştir. Mesnevi, Arap edebiyatında daha çok Farsçadan yapılan çevirilerde kullanılmış, ayrıca öğrenilmesi ve ezberlenmesi istenilen konularda da bu nazım şekline başvurulmuştur.

Türk Edebiyatında ilk mesnevi Yûsuf Has Hâcib'in (ö.1077) *Kutadgu Bilig* adlı eseridir. 13. ve 14. yüzyıllarda yazılmış çeşitli mesneviler vardır. Mesnevi şeklinin Türk edebiyatına has bir özelliği de eserlerdeki kahramanların ağızından yazılmış gazellerin vezin ve şekil bakımından divanlardaki gazellerle aynı özelliği taşımasıdır. Bazı mesnevilerde ise farklı vezinde murabbalar da bulunmaktadır.

13. yüzyılda Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî'nin 25.618 beyitlik büyük eseri olan *Mesnevi-i Mânevi*'si Farsça olduğu halde Türk şairleri üzerinde yüzyıllar boyunca bıraktığı geniş etki bakımından sözü edilmeye değer önemli bir eserdir. Bu yüzyılın sonunda Şeyyâd Hamza'nın 1529 beyitlik *Yûsuf u Züleyhâ* mesnevisi edebiyatımızın ilk aşk mesnevisidir. Sonraki mesneviler yine bu yüzyılda yazılan Ahmed Fakih'in *Kitâb-ı Evsâf-ı Mesâcidi'ş-Şerife* ve Yûnus Emre'nin *Risâletü'n-Nushiyye* adlı eserleridir.

Türk edebiyatında mesnevilerin halk edebiyatına yönelik örnekleri de bulunmaktadır. Pek çoğunun müellif veya musannifi bilinmeyen bu tür mesneviler için genellikle mevlidlerin sonunda yer alan Dâstân-ı Kesikbaş, Dâstân-ı İbrâhim Edhem, Hikâyet-i Kız ve Cehûd, Kadı ve Uğru Destanı, Cenâdil Kalesi, Hatun Destanı, Kısâ-i Kahkaha, Kısâ-i Mukaffa' gibi eserler örnek verilebilir. Türk edebiyatında mesnevi hemen her dönemde gazel ve kasideden geride kalmış, hatta sadece mesnevi yazan şairler küçümsemiştir (Ünver, 2004, ss. 323-324). Sadece mesnevi yazan şair sayısı çok azdır. Ömer Derya Bey de onlardandır.

“Fetihname”, bir kale veya şehrin zaptını anlatan eserlere denir (Pekolcay, 1981, s. 268). Fetihnamelere gazavatnâme de denmiştir. Gazavatnâmeler, düşman topraklarına yapılan sürekli akınlarla, girilen karışıklı savaşlar; bu savaşlarda gösterilen kahramanlıklarla kazanılan zaferleri anlatan manzum ve mensur eserlerdir (Levend, 1973, s. 158).

Fetihnameler, ilgili oldukları savaşın bir tarihçesini ihtiva ettiklerinden ve zaferin hemen ardından kaleme alındıklarından aynı zamanda değerli birer tarihî kaynak niteliği taşırlar. Ancak sübjektif değerlendirmelerle yazılmış oldukları için burada verilen bilgilerin dikkatle ve diğer kaynaklarla karşılaştırılarak kullanılması gerekmektedir (Aksoy, 2004, s. 471).

Fetihnamelerde mutantan bir ifade kullanılır, ülke zaptında padişahın kudretini göstermek için düşman askerinin fazlalığından bahsedilir, olaylar genellikle uzun uzadıya anlatılır. Düşmanlara gönderilen tehditnâmelerde ise ağır ve küçültücü ifadeler yer alır (Aksoy, 2004, s. 471).

Edebiyat tarihiyle ilgili kitaplarda ise fetihname ayrı bir edebî tür olarak bir seferin başlangıcından sonuna kadar geçen olayları, bir şehrin, kalenin alınışı veya bir savaşın kazanılmasını konu edinen eserler şeklinde ele alınmaktadır (Aksoy, 2004, s. 471).

Türk edebiyatında 15. yüzyıldan itibaren müelliflerince doğrudan doğruya “fetihname” olarak adlandırılan manzum ve mensur eserlerin bazılarını burada zikredebiliriz: 1- *Fetihname-i Sultan Mehmed*. Kivâmî tarafından 1490 yılında kaleme alınarak II. Bayezid’e takdim edilmiştir. 2- *Fetihname-i İnebahtı ve Moton*. İnebahtı ve Moton seferlerine katılan II. Bayezid devri şairlerinden Sinoplu Safâî tarafından manzum olarak kaleme alınmıştır. 3- *Fetihname-i Diyâr-ı Arab*. Yavuz Sultan Selim devrinde hayatta bulunan kendisinden Silahşör olarak bahsedilen müellif, bizzat katıldığı Mısır seferi hakkında değerli bilgiler vermektedir. 4- *Fetihname-i Belgrad*. Eserin sonundaki beyitten Sa’yî mahlaslı bir şair tarafından kaleme alındığı anlaşılan bu fetihname Kanuni Sultan Süleyman’a ithaf edilmiştir. 5- *Fetihname-i Hayreddin Paşa*. Barbaros Hayreddin Paşa’nın savaşlarını ve bilhassa Preveze zaferini anlatan, Murâdî tarafından mesnevi tarzında yazılmış bir eserdir. 6- *Fetihname-i Kal’a-i Cerbe*. Nidâî’nin 967 (1560) telif ettiği bu eser Piyâle Paşa tarafından yazdırılmıştır. 7- *Fütûh-ı Yemen*. Rumûzî’nin 977’de (1569-70) kaleme aldığı mesnevi tarzında 20.000 beyitlik bir fetihname olup eserde II. Selim zamanında Yemen’e gönderilen Sinan Paşa’nın fetihleri anlatılmaktadır. 8- *Fetihname*. Sipâhîzâde Ahmed tarafından yazılan bu eser, Sultan İbrahim’in 1054’te (1644) Venediklilere karşı başlattığı, yirmi iki yıl süren muharebenin sonuçları hakkında bilgi vermektedir. 9- *Fetihname-i Kamanîçe*. Nâbî’nin yer yer manzum, yer yer mensur olarak telif ettiği bu fetihnamede IV. Mehmed zamanındaki Kamanîçe Kalesi’nin fethine dair geniş bilgi verilmektedir. 10- *Fetihname-i Belgrad*. Antalyalı Mustafa Münif’in yazdığı eserde, I. Mahmud zamanında 1152’de (1739) sadrazam olan Hacı Mehmed Paşa’nın kazandığı Belgrad zaferi anlatılmaktadır. 11- *Fetihname-i Belgrad*. Koca Rağıp Paşa tarafından yer yer manzum olarak telif edilen eserde bir önceki fetihnamede anlatılan konu işlenmektedir (Aksoy, 2004, s. 471). Bunlardan başka yazılmış Osmanlı dönemi fetih ve zaferleri anlatan birçok eser vardır, bu eserlerin çoğunlukla 15-17. yüzyıllara denk gelmesi Osmanlı’nın yükselme devrine paralel olarak bu eserlerin daha fazla ön plana çıkması, tarih ve edebiyat arasındaki sıkı bağı göstermesi bakımından ilgi çekicidir. Ele aldığımız mesnevi de fetihname türünde yazılmış manzum bir eser olduğundan bu ilişkiyi açık bir şekilde ortaya koymaktadır. Şunu da belirtelim ki Ömer Derya Bey de mesnevisine doğrudan Fetihname adını vermiştir.

Ömer Derya Bey Kimdir?

Osmanlılar döneminde Avusturya’da bulunan Estergon Kalesi’nin ikinci defa yeniden alınmasını işleyen Estergon *Fetihnamesi* müellifi Ömer Derya Bey hakkında pek bilgi bulunmamakla birlikte sadece bir kaynaktan Avrupalı müsteşrik Franz Babinger kendisi hakkında şöyle bir bilgi verir:

“Mahlası Deryâî olan Ömer Derya Bey önceleri levend, sonra ağa, sonra bey olan ve kendi dediğine göre bütün hayatını karısız, çocuksuz sınırdaki geçirip yedi defa yaralanan bir savaş eri idi. Askerlik hayatını sade bir nesir ile anlatacak yerde Ömer Derya Bey şairliği denemiş ve imparatorun Macaristan başkomutanı Fürst Karl von Mansfeld tarafından Grans’ın zaptını (1003/1595) ve on yıl sonra Türkler tarafından geri alınmasını vâfir vezninde bir nazm ile kaleme almıştır. Kuşatmada ağa olarak bulunup oradaki durumu iyi bilen Ömer Derya Bey, kendi şahsiyetini mübalağalı bir şekilde yükselterek muharebeleri, Grans (Estergon) şehrini vesaireyi tasvir etmektedir” (Babinger, 1992, s. 149).

İncelediğimiz eserden hareketle Ömer Derya Bey’in güçlü bir divan şairi olmadığını söyleyebiliriz. Şairin mevcut bir divanı olmadığı gibi gazel ya da kaside nazım şekliyle yazılmış başka şiiri de mevcut değildir. Ayrıca eserde aruz ve kafiye konusunda çok fazla teknik hatanın olması bu fikrimizi destekler niteliktedir. Ancak tasvirlerindeki canlılık, konuya hâkimiyeti ve savaşla ilgili terminolojiyi iyi kullanması onun eserini güçlü kılmaktadır.

Yine bu eserden edindiğimiz bilgilere göre Ömer Derya Bey’in iki kardeş olduğu diğer kardeşinin de kendisiyle birlikte Estergon’un fethine katıldığı ve kendisinden küçük olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Ayrıca savaşlarda yedi defa yaralandığı savaş bittiğinde 50 yaşına geldiğini de beyitlerden anlamaktayız.

Yaliguz degül iki kardaş idüm
Erken idüm mücerret şal baş idüm (747. beyit)

Hişâr içre kardaşum hem var idi
Cân u dilden baña gâyet yâr idi (749. beyit)

Kardeşüm çüst idi gāyet işine
Girmiş idi on üç on dört yaşına (750. beyit)

Şairin mahlası mesnevîde 748. beyitte karşımıza çıkmaktadır:

Adum 'Ömer mahlasum Deryā idi
Gāziler baña 'acāyib yār idi (748. beyit)

Ömer Derya Bey'in Estergon Fetihnamesi

Estergon Fetihnamesi, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın Avusturya'da fethettiği Estergon Kalesi'nin -daha sonra elden çıkmasının ardından- yeniden alınışını işleyen bir eserdir.

Estergon, Macaristan'ın kuzeybatısında Komarom ilinde 16 ve 17. yüzyılda bir Osmanlı sancak merkezi olan şehirdir. Adı Macarca Esztergom, Almanca Granz ve Latince Strigonium olan ve Osmanlı kaynaklarında Ustorgon şeklinde geçen yerdir. Tuna'nın sağ yakasında ve büyük dönemecindeki tepelik bölgede Macar Hükümdarı Geza (970 ?- 997) tarafından kurulmuştur (Geza, 2004, s. 438).

Tuna Havzası'nda askerî ve ticarî açıdan önemli bir noktada bulunan ve Roma döneminde kurulan Estergon şehri 10-13. yüzyıllar arasında Macar Krallığı'na başkentlik yapmıştır. Kral IV. Bella'nın başkenti Budin'e taşınmasından sonra bile önemini yitirmeyen kentin Türklerle tanışması ilk 1526'da Budin'i alan Kanunî Sultan Süleyman döneminde gerçekleşmiştir (Link1). Kanuni'nin Viyana üzerine yürüyüşü sırasında kale savaşılmadan sunulmuş olsa da 1531'de bölgede etkin olmak isteyen Habsburglar tarafından kale tekrar ele geçirilmiştir.

10 Ağustos 1543'te şiddetli muharebelerden sonra "vire"² ile ele geçirilmiştir (Gündüz, 2012, s. 173). 1543'ten sonra Osmanlı ile Avusturya arasında el değiştiren kale, 1609'da imzalanan Zitvatorok Antlaşması ile Osmanlı topraklarına yeniden katılmıştır.

Yenilgiyle biten İkinci Viyana Seferi'nden (1683) sonra Avusturya güçleri tarafından kuşatılan kalenin teslim edilmesiyle Estergon'da uzun yıllar süren Osmanlı egemenliği sona ermiştir.

İncelediğimiz eser, 16. yüzyıl Osmanlı Türkçesinin dil özelliklerini yansıtmaya bakımdan önemli bir metin olduğu kadar eserden anladığımıza göre bahsedilen fethetme bizzat müellifin de katılıp yakından olayları takip etmesi yönüyle de önemli bir tarihî kaynak niteliğindedir. Eser, Ömer Derya Bey tarafından savaştan sonra Muharrem 1040'ta (Ağustos 1630) telif edilmiştir. Bilinen tek nüsha olan bu yazma, Şaban ibn-i Süleyman tarafından Recep 1609 (Nisan 1659)'da istinsah edilmiştir.

Nüsha Tavsifi

Almanya Leipzig Üniversitesi³ B. Or. 078 Fleischer, pp. 545-546 numarada kayıtlı bu eser, Ömer Derya Bey tarafından kaleme alınan *Estergon Fetihnamesi*'dir. Eserin müstensihî Şaban ibn-i Süleyman'dır. Eserin başka nüshası bulunmamıştır.

Fetihnamenin dili Türkçedir. Nesih yazı ile harekeli bir şekilde yazılmıştır. Ana başlıklar kırmızı, metin ise siyah mürekkeple yazılmıştır. Sayfalar düzenli olup her bir sayfada on üç satır vardır.

Bu nüshanın deri cildi yıpranmış, yer yer kenarları bozulmaya uğradığından sırtı dikilmiştir. İç sayfalarda güve yemesinden, nemden, mürekkep akmasından kaynaklanan bozulmalar mevcuttur. Ayrıca kenarı yırtılmış yıpranmış sayfalardan dolayı şiirde bazı yerler okunamamıştır.

² Vire: Amana gelme, yenilgiyi kabul etme, üzerinde savaşılan şeyi verme.

³ Leipzig Üniversitesi, Almanya'nın ve dünyanın en eski ve köklü üniversitelerinden olup tarihi 1409 yılına kadar gitmektedir. Adını Leipzig şehrinden almıştır ve dünyaca tanınan Wagner, Goethe ve Nietzsche gibi mezunlara sahiptir. Leipzig şehri, 550 binlik nüfusu ile Saksonya eyaletinin en büyük şehirlerindedir. Futbol takımları, modern hayvanat bahçeleri ve opera gösterileriyle tanınan Leipzig şehri modern bir yapıya sahiptir. Şehirde her sene düzenlenen fuarlar ve öğrenci nüfusunun fazlalığı şehri tanımlayan diğer özellikleridir (Link2).

İç kapak zahriyye gibi kullanılmış ve yazılmaya buradan başlanmıştır. Muhtemelen eseri alıp götüren kişinin kendi el yazısıyla düştüğü Latince bir not ve ilgili kurumun arması bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca Romen rakamlarıyla CCCXXVI (326) yazmaktadır.

Kitabın başında şiirden farklı olarak muhtemelen müstensihin yazdığı dua niteliğinde dört satırlık bir yazı bulunmaktadır. Bu yazıda kısaca bu eserin okunmasıyla müellifinin ruhuna sevaplar gideceği söylenmiştir.

Fetihname'nin Şekil Yönünden İncelenmesi

Fetihname, toplam 85 varaktan ve 2122 beyitten oluşmaktadır. Klasik mesnevilerde olan giriş bölümünün bu eserde olmadığını birkaç tasvir ve hazırlık beytinden sonra eserin doğrudan âgâz-ı destan bölümüyle başladığını söyleyebiliriz. Eserimizin içerisinde şairin belirlediği ve isimlendirdiği yirmi bir tane bölüm başlığı bulunmaktadır. Eserdeki başlıklar şunlardır:

1. Nakş u Şüretlerin Beyân İder
2. Nakş u Şüretlerin Beyân İder (tekrar)
3. Hikâyet-i Şu Kulle
4. Çeşmelerin Beyân İder
5. Medh-i Gâzîyân-ı Ustorğon
6. Hikâyet-i Kartal Kuşu
7. Kâfirün Donanması Bozulduğun Beyân İder
8. Şehidlere Selâmlar İrsâl Olunduğun Beyân İder
9. Muşannif Kendü Hâlin Şerh İtdüğün Beyân İder
10. Hikâyet-i Ferhâd
11. Kâfirün Topları Çivilendüğün Beyân İder
12. Şehîd Hayât Bulduğun Beyân İder
13. Merhûm Deryâ Bey Kendü Hâlin Şerh İtdüğü Beyân Olunur
14. Ömer İshâk Bölüğün Düşdüğün Şehîd Olduğun Beyân Olunur
15. Kâfir Beyanında
16. Şâma Haber Catıcı Beyân Olunur
17. Kâfir Ustorğonu Bırağup Gıtdüğün Beyân İder
18. Tekrâr Ustorğonu Dögdüğün Sebebin Bildürür
19. Hikâye-i İkinci Uğraş
20. Bir Gâzînün Başına Zarbozan Urduğun Beyân İder
21. Murâtlar Kâfire Tabduğun Beyân İder

Vezin

Manzumenin aruz vezniyle yazıldığı, varak 83b'de "Fâilâtün Fâilâtün Fâilât" şeklindeki ifadeyle belirtilmiştir. Birçok yerde özellikle sonlarda bu kalıba uyduğu görülse de başlardaki birçok beytin "feilâtün mefâilün feilün" veya "mefâilün mefâilün feilün" kalıplarına daha çok uygun geldiğini görmekteyiz. Franz Babinger'in (1992, s. 149) bu şiirin vâfir vezniyle (müfâ'aletün müfâ'aletün) yazıldığını iddia etmesi ise zayıf bir iddia olarak kalmaktadır. Şiirin aruz kalıbının bu kadar tartışılır olması, şairin aruz hususundaki başarısızlığını açıkça ortaya koymaktadır. Bu duruma biraz da müstensihin dikkatsizliği neden olmuş, başarısız aruz uygulamaları daha da işin içinden çıkılmaz bir hâle düşmüştür diyebiliriz. Çünkü metnin imlasında fahiş hatalar ve eksiklikler vardır. Çok dizede vezin aksar gözükmektedir. Öyle ki bu keşmekeş, zaman zaman manzumede aruz yerine 11'li hece vezni kullanılmış vehmi dahi uyandırmaktadır.

Nazım Şekli ve Kafiye

Şiir kafiye düzeni bakımından mesnevi özelliği göstermektedir. Metinde toplam 2122 beyit vardır. Tüm beyitler kendi içinde kafiyelidirler. Şiirde kafiyelendirmenin genel olarak başarılı olduğunu ve çoğunlukla yarım ve tam kafiyelerin kullanıldığını az da olsa zengin ve cinaslı kafiyelerin kullanıldığını söyleyebiliriz.

Fetihname'nin Muhteva Yönünden İncelenmesi

İkinci Estergon fethine bizzat katılan müellifin savaşı yaşaması, olayları yakından takip etmesi ve kendisinin de bir asker olması yönüyle eseri tarihe ışık tutan birinci dereceden manzum bir kaynak olarak görebiliriz. Ayrıca metnin içerisinde konunun erbabı için savaş terminolojisi ve savaş planları ile ilgili

birçok kelime ve tabir mevcuttur. Eserde yer alan mekân ve şehir tasvirleri o günkü yerleşim şekli ve yaşam tarzı hakkında bilgi verir niteliktedir.

Özel Adlar ve Terimler

Ömer Derya Bey'in eserinde *Ustorgon (Estergon), Yedi Kral, İypol, Garafil, Sübhan Dağı, Engürüs, Tuna, Bonar, Komoran, Duborja, Zagora, Varoş, Magrib, Freng, Alman, Rus, Boğdan, Erdel, Belgrad, Martolos, Nemçe, Macar, Uş, Cigerdelen, Tepedelen* gibi yer ve millet adları ve bunun yanında *Sarı Saltık, Hızır, İlyas, Nuşirevan, Sigon Uşak, (Hz.) Muhammed (s.a.v.), (Hz.) Ali, Sultan Süleyman (Kanunî), Sultan Ahmed, Ferhâd* gibi tarihi ve efsanevi şahsiyetlerin adları geçmektedir.

Sofi Sinan Paşa, Hasan Paşa, Muhammed Paşa, Gazi Ali Paşa, Ali Bey, Ömer Derya Bey, Hüseyin Bey, Ömer Aga, Derya Aga, İshak Bey, Çil Agaç Bey gibi isimler ise bizzat bu savaşta yer alan tarihî Osmanlı kahramanların adıdır.

Eserde özellikle savaş ve silah terminolojisi ile ilgili tespit edilen birçok kelime mevcuttur. Bu terimlerin zengin bir biçimde kullanılmasının en önemli sebebi şairin bizzat asker olması ve savaşın içerisinde bulunmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Tespit edilen kelimeleri şöyle sıralayabiliriz: *kal'a, kulle, hisar, derbent, yol, mazgal, şayga, tüfek, balyemez top, kılıç, kalkan, zarbozan, cidalı, şahî, top, kara'ol (karakol), kapıkulu, yeniçeri, palanka, merdiven, kös, meteriz, çarğa, barut, kıturğa, atlu, yaya, er, asker, serasker, bey, gazi, şehid, paşa, alay, tabur, hendek, gözci, levend, sipahi, sancak, kul oğlanı, cebeci, lağımci, çorbacı, od eylemek (ateş açmak), tepelemek, divar, nacak, balta, çapa, nişan, bayrak, kunbara, barut, fitil, nevbetçi, serhad, gemi, donanma, nâme, haberci, casus, ok, yay, kiriş, gedik, hendek kazmak, baruthane, barut atmak, cebe, tabya, dolma vb.*

Tasvirler

Eser, mesnevi nazım şekliyle yazıldığı için tahkiyeli anlatım tarzı kullanılmıştır. Ancak eserde sadece olay örgüsü yoktur zaman zaman çarpıcı tasvirler ve sanatlı bir anlatım da karşımıza çıkar. Mesnevinin başlarında yer alan ve 29. beyitte başlayıp 59. beyitte sona eren "Nağş u Şüretlerin Beyân İder" başlıklı kısımda şair, genel hatlarıyla Estergon Kalesi'ni tasvir eder. Bu beyitlerin hem metne hem de tasvirlere örnek olması açısından buraya alınmasının uygun olacağı kanaatindeyiz. Bu kısımda şair; Estergon Kalesi'nin kızıl yeğpare bir taş üzerine kurulduğunu, sanat yönüyle onun gibi bir yapının insanoğlu tarafından bir eşinin daha görülmediğini, kale içerisinde Ulu Cami olduğunu, camideki yazılarının altın yıldızdan ve kubbesinin mermerden olduğunu, Sarı Saltuk'un mezarının Ulu Cami'de bulunduğunu, onun mezarının kapısının türlü süslemeyle süslendiğini, mermerden yapılan direklerinin oymalı olduğunu, kapısının iki yanında bekçi gibi mermerden yapılan arslan ve kaplan heykellerinin bulunduğunu, heykellerin sanki canlı gibi yapıldığını, heybetli bakışlarıyla sanki ejderhalar ile dövüşür gibi etkileyici olduğunu ve içeri girenleri bakışlarıyla korkuttuğunu, çeşitli milletlerden gelip bu bina ve sanat eserlerine bakanların ona hayran kaldığını, kalede asma kubbeli divanhanelerin olduğunu ve altın yıldızlı yazılar ve nakışların göz kamaştırdığını, buradaki çarpıcı güzelliklerin daha dünyada eşinin benzerinin görülmediğini, Sarı Saltuk'un efsanevi kahramanlıklarını ve Hazret-i Hızır'dan yardım aldığını vb. hususları nazım yoluyla anlatmış ve bu eserleri yapan mimar ve ustaları övmüştür.

- | | | |
|-----|----|---|
| 2a- | 29 | Yine kal'ayı yâd idüp diyelüm Nice kal'a imiş bunu bilelüm |
| | 30 | Ustorgondan saña haber vireyim Nice yir imiş size şerh ideyim |
| | 31 | Bir kızıl taş üzre urmuş temelün Perîler yapmış durur bunu bilün |
| | 32 | Âdem oğlu böyle yâyı yapmamış Dağı gözler bu binâyı görmemiş |
| | 33 | Kal'a içre Ulu Câmî' var idi Gören kişi bakuben hayrân idi |
| | 34 | Şâfi altun idi nağş u yazusu Kızıl mermerden [idi] bir kubbesi |

- 35 Sarı Şaltık anda yatur didiler
Gömülüdür üsti altun yazulu[r]
- 36 Kapusunda dürlü şüret yazulu
Şâfi mermer direkleri oymalu
- 37 Kapunuñ iki yanında yapmışlar
Oyma taşdan kaplan arslan dizmişler
- 38 Kızıl mermerden yapulmuş şüreti
Aç arslanlara benzer[di] heybeti
- 2b- 39 Canludur şan bakışı heybetleri
Ejdehâyile döğüşü[r] her biri
- 40 İçerü girene şan kim diş kaçar
Biribirine heybet ile bakar
- 41 Kapunuñ üsti yanında iy kişi
Kızıl mermerden iki kartal kuşu
- 42 Anı dağı anda nakş [idüp] durur
İçeri giren gâziler hep görür
- 43 Nice düzmiş nice yapmış diyeyin
Bilmezem [kim] nice takrîr ideyin
- 44 Kâfdan şan ki getürmüş işüni
Şâfi nakş itmiş içüni taşunu
- 45 Dürlü şüret yazulu 'ibretleri
Şimdi söyler şanursın şüretleri
- 46 'Arab 'Acem siyâhî gelür idi
Bu binâyı bakuben hayrân idi
- 47 İl memleket gezdüğümüz çok durur
Hiçbir yirde böyle binâ yok durur
- 48 Aşma kubbelü[dür] dîvân-hâneler
Altun yaldızlu nakışlu yazula[r]
- 49 Ak hem kızıl mermer idi yapusu
Dürlü dürlü oymalarla kapusu
- 50 Duvarlarda erleri resm eylemiş
Sarı Şaltuk Sultânı nakş eylemiş
- 51 Papaz ile nice girmiş kazana
Taḥsîn olsun hem bu nakşı yazana
- 3a- 52 İki yerde Sarı Şaltuk nakşı var
Hem bir yirde gömülüdür didiler
- 53 Ol diyâra nice kim gelmiş ise
Ejdehâyile nice döğüşmiş ise
- 54 Altı başın tepelemiş teng ider
Yedüncü baş ile durma[z] cenk ider

- 55 Hızır İlyās diyu çağırmış imiş
Meded sultānum yetiş dimiş imiş
- 56 Hızır Peyğamber yetişmiş medede
Evliyā imiş çağıran iy dede
- 57 Hızır Peyğamber yetişmiş sultānum
Haşr olunca aşkına aksa k̄ānum
- 58 Yetişüp de gelse görse hasretüm
Gice gündüz miñnetümdür firqātüm
- 59 Nice kimseye yetişmiş görünüp
Ayağı tozına varsam sürünüp

Kızılma ve Türklük

Eserde dikkat çekici bir husus da on bir yerde “Türk”, üç yerde “Kızılma” kelimesinin kullanılması; Türk’ün cihangirlik ve nizâm-ı âlem mefkurelerinin o dönemde savaşan askerler arasında nasıl canlı olduğunu anlatması yönünden önemlidir.

Bu al’adan diyarı hep bilindi
Kızılmayaya dek yolu bulundi (22. beyit)

Uzattı Ustorğona Engrüs ulın
Kızılmayaya dek zabt ide ilin (23. beyit)

Kızılma vü Ustorğon ulası
Nice yıllar çekülmüşdür belâsı (2106. beyit)

Vezîr ü defterdâr kâfire der ki
Görelüm nice kırarsız bu Türki (221. beyit)

Neye geldi dir bu Türk ilümüze
Kâfir pusuya girmiş yolumuza (283. beyit)

Kâfir geçidlere hep gözci omış
Üstümüze gelür Türkler [hep] dimiş (285. beyit)

Nedür aşlı dir Türke varamadu
Tüfenk atup uğrayup bozamadu (920. beyit)

Kızılma, Osmanlı Türkleri tarafından Roma’ya verilen ad idi. Roma, Hristiyanlık âleminin merkezi olup oradaki St. Pierre kilisesinin kubbesi de kızıl bakırdan idi. Bu nedenle Kızılma sözü, fethedilecek en uç nokta anlamında yaygınlaşmıştır. En uzak ve en son coğrafi nokta, Kızılma’dır (Pala, 2010: 275).

Kızılma imgesinin tam olarak ne zaman, nerede ve nasıl ortaya çıktığı bilinmemekle birlikte yaygın anlayış, Osmanlı ile birlikte tarihe ve edebiyata mal olduğu, özellikle Osmanlılar döneminde Batı memleketlerine doğru yürütülen cihadın bir sembolü olduğu yönündedir. Kızılma ölküsü özellikle yeniçeriler arasında yaygınlaştırılmış ve onların savaşma azmini yüksek tutmak için kullanılmıştır. Ziya Gökalp bu imgeyi Turan ölküsü ile birleştirerek ona yeni bir anlam yüklemiştir.

Eserin ferağ kaydının altında mensur olarak Estergon fethinden sonra Eyvar (Uyvar), Luvva, Nugrad, Kanire Kalesi gibi yerlerin fetihlerinden de bahsedilmiştir.

Dil ve İmla Özellikleri

Metin harekeli olması dolayısıyla Eski Anadolu Türkçesi'ndeki yuvarlaklaşma özelliğinin bu metinde korunduğunu açıkça görmekteyiz:

Ġazîler *medhidür* iletme gümâne
Aceb *degül* inanmazsa zemâne (3. beyit)

Metnin harekeli olması okumada kolaylık sağlaması gerekirken zaman zaman okumayı daha da güçleştirmiştir. Ancak buradaki asıl kusur müstensih'in payına düşmektedir. Metinde müstensih'ten kaynaklanan birçok yazım yanlışı olduğunu açıkça söyleyebiliriz. Öyle ki bu dikkatsizlik zaman zaman yazım birliğini bozmakta ve tek bir beyitte bile aynı kelime farklı biçimde yazılmaktadır. Örneğin 1368. beyitte "diledük" kelimesinin iki farklı yazımı karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Birinci mısradaki kef ile yazılırken ikinci mısradaki kaf ile yazıldığını görmekteyiz:

Kâfir leşlerini dermek *diledük*
Serlerinden bir kula yapmak *diledük* (1368. beyit)

Ġapusında dürlü şüret yazulu
Şâfi mermer direkleri *oymalu* (36. beyit)

Aşağıdaki beyitlerde veznin aksanmış olması bütün bu yazım yanlışı ve vezin aksamalarının müstensih'in dikkatsizliğinden kaynaklandığını belirtmek gerekir. Ayrıca vezin metnin çoğu yerinde aksamaktadır. Bunlara birkaç tane örnek vermek gerekirse şu beyitlere bakılabilir:

Top olduk diz be diz yürüdük
Ne kıldan kâfire düz doğru sürdük (307. beyit)

Sefer itdi geldi Ustorğona
Dîvârların boyadı kızıl kana (1173. beyit)

Didük anı fikr idüp kal'âyı virün
Başuñuz kaydunı erkence görün(1247. beyit)

Aşağıdaki beyitte "kavraduk" sözcüğü harf değişikliğiyle yanlış yazılmıştır:

Girüden kavraduk nice dirisün
Gider ilerü hiç bakmaz girüsün (1667. beyit)

Kelime başında, ortası ve sonunda bulunan "ç" sesi bazen "ç" bazen de "c" şeklinde farklı yazıldığını belirli standarda uyulmadığı görmekteyiz:

Bu medhi ideyin *geldikce* elden
Dağı nazar ideyin okuna dilden (4. beyit)

Dereler *geçidler* doldı leşler
Hişâra çevre yuvalanurdı başlar (1267. beyit)

Düşen *balcığa* bula kalkmadı
Oğul babasına hiç bakmadı (1268. beyit)

Yine *çāsūslar* selâm versünler
Askerlerün ağudur mı görsünler(1281. beyit)

Kelime sonunda bulunan "b" sesinin bazen "p" bazen de "b" şeklinde yazıldığını görmekteyiz. Biz özellikle zarf-fiil ekini -lp, -Up olarak almayı tercih ettik, diğerlerini olduğu gibi bıraktık.

Acib cenkler idüp kılınıdı şavaş

Kimi diri getirür kimi de baş (263. beyit)

Varoşı virüp giden kâfirleri
Yürüdük bunlara karşı ileri (1192. beyit)

Sonuç

Kendisi de bir asker olan Ömer Derya Bey'in tek eseri olan *Estergon Fetihnamesi*, Estergon Kalesi'nin ikinci defa Türkler tarafından fethedilmesini konu alan, tarihi bir olayı mesnevi tarzında manzum bir şekilde işleyen bir eserdir. Fethi bizzat katılıp savaşı yaşayan ve olayları yakından takip eden Ömer Derya Bey, metnin içerisinde ilgilileri için savaş terminolojisi ile ilgili birçok terim zikretmiş o dönemin savaş plan ve stratejilerini aktarmıştır. Bunun yanında eser sadece gerçek olay örgüsünden ibaret olmayıp metinde yer yer çarpıcı tasvirler ve sanatlı bir anlatım da göze çarpmaktadır. Eserde yer alan mekân ve şehir tasvirleri o günkü yerleşim şekli ve yaşam tarzı hakkında bilgi verir niteliktedir. Bu yönüyle eser önemli bir tarihî kaynak niteliğindedir ve o döneme ışık tutar. Fetihname tarihi bir nitelik taşıdığından özel isim ve yer isimlerinin kullanıldığını görmekteyiz. Bu çalışmamızın tarih ve edebiyat alanlarında fetihname türünde yapılan bilimsel çalışmalara ve eserin 16. yüzyıl dil özelliklerini taşıması yönüyle de dil alanındaki çalışmalara az da olsa katkı sağlayacağını ümit etmekteyiz.

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THE DOMESTIC APPLICATION OF INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW: CANADA SUPREME COURT'S DECISION ON THE ABUSE OF ERITREA'S MINE WORKERS

RESEARCH ARTICLE

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ABSTRACT: On February 28, 2020, the Supreme Court of Canada gave a majority decision which may change the face of corporate liability for human rights violations perpetrated outside Canada. In the past, claimants had brought actions of human rights violations such as forced labor, slavery and torture against corporations using tort law but, with the recent decision which emanated from an appeal on a motion to dismiss by Nevsun Resources Limited in *Nevsun v Araya*, claimants now have a shot at bringing their actions under Customary International Law per the Supreme Court's decision that Customary International Law is a part of the Canadian Common Law so long as the law does not contradict the existing law in Canada. The plaintiffs in this case claimed several human rights violations against Nevsun including forced labor and slavery. While Nevsun sought for the matter to be struck out under the ground that the alleged acts occurred outside the jurisdiction of Canada therefore, Canada was not the proper forum to hear the case. The majority reasoned that the human rights norms said to have been violated belonged to the class of Customary International Law that permitted no derogation (*Jus Cogens*) hence; it was automatically incorporated into the law of Canada. But the dissenting opinion held that the acts alleged where acts of a foreign state (Eritrea) because, Nevsun was acting in agreement with the Eritrean government and Canada cannot sit over the act of another state. The facts, decision and argument of the case led this research to explore the mass exodus and trafficking of women including children whereby, women were subjected to sexual exploitation and torture both within Eritrea and on the road to a supposed promised land, as a result of the hostile political situation in Eritrea. Researching this case has not been without challenges as there were conflicting data on the state of women in the Eritrean due to state fed data provided by the Eritrean government or the lack of it therefore, this research is not conclusive in that aspect

Keywords: Human Rights, Trafficking, Forced Labor, Slavery, Torture

RESUME : L'Application Nationale du Droit International des Droits de l'homme: La Décision de la Cour Suprême du Canada Sur L' Abus des Travailleurs des Mines À Érythrée

Le 28 février 2020, la Cour suprême du Canada a rendu une décision majoritaire qui pourrait changer le visage de la responsabilité des entreprises pour les violations des droits de la personne perpétrées à l'extérieur du Canada. Dans le passé, les requérants avaient intenté des actions pour violations des droits de l'homme telles que le travail forcé, l'esclavage et la torture contre des entreprises utilisant le droit de la responsabilité délictuelle mais, avec la récente décision qui émanait d'un appel sur une requête en rejet par Nevsun Resources Limited dans *Nevsun v Araya*, les demandeurs ont maintenant une chance d'intenter leurs actions en vertu du droit international coutumier par la décision de la Cour suprême selon laquelle le droit international coutumier fait partie de la common law canadienne tant que la loi ne contredit pas le droit existant au Canada. Les plaignants dans cette affaire ont allégué plusieurs violations des droits de l'homme contre Nevsun, notamment le travail forcé et l'esclavage. Bien que Nevsun ait demandé la radiation de l'affaire au motif que les actes allégués se sont donc produits hors de la compétence du Canada, le Canada n'était donc pas l'instance appropriée pour entendre l'affaire. La majorité a estimé que les normes des droits de l'homme qui auraient été violées appartenaient à la classe du droit international coutumier qui n'autorisait donc aucune dérogation (*jus cogens*); il a été automatiquement incorporé dans la loi canadienne. Mais l'opinion dissidente a conclu que les actes allégués étaient des actes d'un État étranger (Érythrée) parce que Nevsun agissait en accord avec le gouvernement érythréen et le Canada ne peut pas siéger sur l'acte d'un autre État. Les faits, la décision et l'argumentation de l'affaire ont conduit cette recherche à explorer l'exode massif et la traite des femmes, y compris des enfants, les femmes étant soumises à l'exploitation sexuelle et à la torture à la fois en Érythrée et sur la route d'une prétendue terre promise, en raison de la situation politique hostile en Érythrée. L'étude de ce cas n'a pas été sans défis car il y avait des données contradictoires sur la situation des femmes en Érythrée en raison de données fournies par l'État fournies par le gouvernement érythréen ou de l'absence de données, cette recherche n'est donc pas concluante sur cet aspect.

Mots clés: Droits de l'homme, traite, travail forcé, esclavage, torture

Introduction

Justifying The Exercise of Jurisdiction Over Alleged Violations of Jus Cogens Norms Under Customary International Law. The term -“International law” coined by Jeremy Bentham,¹ is also referred to as public international law or the law of nations and defined “the laws, rules and norms which regulate the activities and relations amongst sovereign nations that have been legally recognized as International actors,”² from Intergovernmental organizations and multinational corporations. In its most recent modern form, human rights are a welcomed post World-War II innovation in international law which may, in some specific cases, directly apply to individuals as well as to states.³

International law is a unique aspect of the general design of international relations. In considering reactions to a specific international position, states normally contemplate applicable international laws. Despite the fact that substantial attention is regularly directed at violations of international law, states although acting mainly in self interest, are generally meticulous in ensuring that their behavior aligns with the rules and principles of international law, because behaving contrary to existing rules has consequences⁴in relation the international community.⁵

To that end, this research essay will examine a recent and critical instance of how international law may frame domestic law and influence relations between states. The essay examines this *Nevsun v Araya* case and how Canada integrated IL into its domestic law in ways that helped to shape the Supreme Court’s recent decision to allow the trying of *Nevsun v Araya* case in Canada despite the defendant’s argument that the actions giving rise to the case emanated in Eritrea and that international customary law does not apply to corporations but states. At issue in this case was whether the court has the authority to exercise jurisdiction over actions done by its national in another country and the decision was that by virtue of the incorporation of international customary law into Canada’s domestic law, the court in Canada can hear the case irrespective of whether the actions took place in Eritrea. The research question that this essay poses is whether this pro-IHRL decision will foster international relations between Canada and other relevant states like Eritrea or whether its latest decision will this jeopardize the relations between the government of Canada and the Canadian companies carrying out their business activities outside Canada?

The advancement of international law, its norms, principles and institutions, are undeniably shaped by international political events, from the end of World War II to the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States (U.S). Regional agreements organizations, such as the Warsaw Pact by the Soviet Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) initiated by the U.S exhibit how international began to shape political events.⁶

Part of this political-events oriented dynamic includes the evolution of rules for protecting human rights. But IHRL has progressed unsteadily, often hindered by acute ideological differences, even while human rights have been shaped by political events.⁷ Starting from the 1980s, globalization has expanded the area of impact of international and regional organizations and necessitated the extension of international law over the rights and duties of states, non-states and even individual actors.⁸ Due to its complexity and the amount of actors it involved, international law is often established through methods that require an almost universal agreement. For example, in the case of green initiatives and the physical environment, bilateral agreements have been augmented and in certain instances exchanged with multilateral

¹ Malcolm Shaw, *International Law*, Encyclopedia Britannica (May 15, 2020, 10:20AM), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/international-law>

² *Id.*

³ Emily f. Carasco, *International Law*, The Canadian Encyclopedia,(May 15,2020, 10:25AM) <https://www.the-canadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/international-law>

⁴ The consequences for breaching a jus cogens norms like those that arose in the *Nevsun v Araya*’s case includes third party states non-recognition, non assistance and co-operating to bring to an end such violations by the perpetrating state. Under International Humanitarian Law, this obligation on third party states is provided under Article one of the Geneva Convention. For example In 2011, the defiance of Libya under Muammar Gadaffi when it was asked by the UN Security Council to stop violence against peaceful protesters led to the imposition of a no-fly zone on Libya airspace, shutting it off from the world.

⁵ Shaw, *supra* note 1.

⁶ *Id.*

⁷ *Id.*

⁸ *Id.*

agreements, remodeling the basic method for “individual state consent into [community](#) acceptance.”⁹ Although in doctrine, international law is “horizontal,” due to the concept of equality among states; however, in actuality, some states remain more influential than others in initiating and upholding international law.¹⁰

The acceptance of jurisdiction by the Canadian court in a matter alleging violations of jus cogens norms of customary international law against a Canadian Company, for acts done against a national of that other jurisdiction is the first decision of its kind in Canada. Since the decision was rendered by the highest court in Canada, it has set a precedent for other regional courts to follow. As well as placed Canadian companies dealing internationally especially in Africa, on their toes whenever there is a claim against them pertaining to human rights violations.

This research work makes use of the British Columbia Court of Appeal (BCCA) case report and the Supreme Court of Canada case report on the *Nevsun v Araya* case. The facts and holdings from both courts are analyzed in relation to the Convention Against Slavery, Convention Against Torture and the convention Against Forced Labor. The judges from the BCCA are of the opinion that the case of the plaintiff can be allowed to go on because it involves human rights norms of which Canada has jurisdiction over. The decision is affirmed by the Supreme Court majority holding on the ground that Canada has adopted Customary International Law (CIL) into his domestic legal system therefore; it can try cases pertaining to its nationals that arose from the CIL claims. Meanwhile, the defendants are against this decision because they claim to have not been a party nor vicariously liable for the alleged human rights violations and if at all the matter must be tried, it should be tried by an Eritrean court because the actions giving rise to the case occurred in Eritrea. The defendant’s arguments are echoed in the decisions giving by the dissent at the Supreme Court. The dissent perspective is that although CIL is part of Canada Law, trying the case would be trying the actions of a State-Eritrea because the State is said to have played a key role through the actions of his senior military officials who contracted the plaintiffs out to the defendant for private work. Furthermore, according to Jolane, the *Nevsun v Araya* case is a landmark case as there has never been instance where a foreigner prevailed and proceeded to a merit stage¹¹ in an action against a Canadian Company. She also believed that this decision may affect the nature and manner of business dealings by Canadian companies in other countries if they knew they could be held accountable for their actions back home.

Some forms of IHRL is a part of CIL regarded as jus cogens, a norm for which no derogation is allowed. Although IL often concerns states, it is known to apply to international organizations and in some specific instances individuals but, as to whether it applies to corporations is still a grey area. The argument of the Supreme Court of Canada in *Nevsun v Araya* case is that it applies so long as such CIL especially a jus cogens norm has been adopted into the domestic law of the country. This argument is not however unanimous, there are dissents who argues that it would not apply to situations that directly or indirectly involves the actions another country. Therefore, this paper progresses from the underlying facts which gave rise to the main decisions and dissent at the Supreme Court, to the analysis of the CIL claims under the various international convention that established them.

Background

Understanding The Underlying Key Facts Leading Up To The Court’s Decision In *Nevsun V Araya*

In November 2017, the British Columbia Court of Appeal (BCCA) dismissed an appeal filed by *Nevsun Resources Ltd* a Mining company based in Canada but owns shares at the Bisha Mine in Eritrea (hereinafter Defendant) thereby, advancing the issue of whether there was a violation of human rights norm against *Araya &co* (hereinafter Plaintiffs) to the “merit stage”¹² of the process in *Araya v Nevsun*. It is noteworthy that prior to *Araya v Nevsun* case, the British Columbia Region of Canada has never moved a foreign plaintiff to the status of being able to litigate or take legal action against any Canadian mining company, to redress human rights wrongs for actions done outside Canada and one directly based on

⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰ *Id.*

¹¹ This a stage a matter proceeds to when it has been determined by the court, based on the facts and evidence to be worthy of adjudication/trial by the court.

¹² *Id.*

a CIL.¹³ All those who had tried to litigate their cases¹⁴ before were defeated at the “motion to dismiss stage” of the proceedings.¹⁵ This novelty is one of the many distinctions associated with this landmark case, as this is also the first time a claim for mass tort for modern slavery will go forward in a Canadian Court.¹⁶

The basic conflict of the *Nevsun v Araya* involves Eritrean Refugees in Canada who are suing a Canadian-based mining company known as *Nevsun Resources* for that company’s human rights violations in Eritrea, notably, slavery, torture, forced labor, Inhuman and degrading treatments. The Company in defending itself at the British Columbia Court relied on the fact that the actions leading up to the claim took place in another country-Eritrea, therefore, Eritrea was the proper place to try the case and also that the court does not have authority over another state’s action due to the fact that *Nevsun* was in partnership with the Eritrean government with respect to the Bisha Mines. The British Columbia court held that the case against the defendants was worthy of adjudication because the plaintiffs had potent claims and the underlying reason was that as escapees from the NSP, they could not return to Eritrea to try the case and also, from the facts and evidence adduced, it is clear that even if they do make it to the Eritrean court, they would not get fair judgment due to the autocratic nature of government. More of which will be explained later on in this paper. While, at the Supreme Court of Canada, the Court held that Canada could hear the case because it has adopted CIL into the domestic law of Canada.

The heart of *Nevsun* defense was procedural and jurisdictional: they claimed Canada did not have jurisdiction over trying the case because the actions in question occurred in Eritrea. In the preceding part of this paper, we will examine the application of International Law in Canada in order to understand while the Supreme Court ruled the way it did and to better understand the arguments of the plaintiffs and defendant, we will examine briefly the connection between Eritrea and the National Service Program and *Nevsun* and the Bisha Mines respectively. After which, we will discuss the facts, looking at it from the plaintiffs’ arguments and the defendant’s arguments and then a detailed exposition of the Courts holdings including the dissents.

Canada’s International Human Rights Law Role

Canada is a pioneer of international law and it is one of at least a hundred and eighty-four countries who have agreed to be bound by the rules, norms and principles of international law. Canada has been performing a leading role in upholding and advancing international law in the aspect of “peacekeeping, human rights, the law of the sea and international economic law” at the United Nations (UN) and other international conventions.¹⁷ Therefore, it is no surprise that Canada has adopted CIL into its domestic laws.

Canada’s international law practices thrive on treaties it has made with other states. It derives its international law practices, duties and rights mainly from treaties which is a binding agreement between Canada and another state or multiples states for example between Canada and the US there are around two hundred treaties. And, states practices than from others sources of international law.¹⁸ It is noteworthy that CIL that are contained in treaties are automatically binding on nonparties to the treaties as well as parties for example Canada assumed responsibilities under Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, prior to becoming a party to the treaty.¹⁹ It is important to note that treaty is one of the sources of international law named in the document establishing the International Court of Justice (ICJ).

¹³ Matt Eisenbrandt, *Canada: Land Mark Slavery Case Against Mining Company*, (April 14,2020, 11:25 AM) <https://www.antislavery.org/canada-slavery-case-mining/>

¹⁴ For example, Copper Mesa mining lawsuit in Re Ecuador, *Garcia v Tahoe* was dismissed at British Columbia Supreme Court under the ground of the defendant’s *forum non conveniens* defense but was overturned by the court of Appeal in 2017. See Andrew Findlay, *Canadaian Mining Companies Will Now Face Human Rights Charges in Canadian Courts*, (April 14, 2020, 11:39AM) <https://thenarwhal.ca/canadian-mining-companies-will-now-face-human-rights-charges-in-canadian-courts/>

¹⁵ Jolane T Lauzon, *Araya v Nevsun Resources: Remedies for victims of Human Rights Violations Committed By Canadian Mining Companies Abroad*, (2018) *Revue Quebecoise De Droit International*. 168 *CanLII Docs* 10660, <https://www.canlii.org/t/xbx0>consulte le 16 March. 2020

¹⁶ Matt, *Supra* note 13

¹⁷ Carasco *supra* note 3

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ *Id.*

Canada like other advanced countries keeps track and organize all the treaties they are party to. Treaties to which Canada is a party are duly published in a Canada Treaty Series. CIL is born from the general practice of states conducting their international law affairs on the understanding that the practice is legally binding and CIL has been adopted by the Canadian court as a part of Canadian Law. However, many customs that are believed to be a source of international law are now integrated in multilateral conventions for example some very old CIL principles were codified in the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.²⁰ These binding treaties amongst states, reflects changes in the as well as preserve the international law system as time goes on.

Canada's journey in the international human rights area of international law can be said to have heightened in 1976 when it opened itself up to be bound and gave its citizens the opportunity to access the UN Human Rights Committee for redress, by assenting to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, a significant multilateral human rights treaty and its Optional Protocol. Also, Canada has demonstrated its desire to effect changes in international law system by favoring policies that would benefit economically disadvantaged countries in the less developed part of the world by helping to maximize their world trade and foreign investment portfolio an example is the General Preferential Tariffs legislation, which is advantageous to poorer countries.²¹

At the national level, Canada's human rights law which draws strength from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is secured through federal, provincial and territorial laws.²² The 1977 [Canadian Human Rights Act](#) protects the rights of persons in Canada against "the federal government, First Nations governments or private companies regulated by the federal government such as banks, trucking companies, broadcasters and telecommunications companies" in discrimination matters in employment, services, race, age and sexual orientation.²³ It is noteworthy that the Provincial and territorial human rights laws greatly resembles and adhere to same rules in the Canadian Human Rights Act.²⁴

Also, Canada's Constitution integrated a 1982 [Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms](#). The Charter secures the equal and fundamental rights of Canada's citizens to the freedom of expression, freedom of assembly and freedom of religion and protection from violation of their rights through laws, policies and government conducts. However, the charter only covers actions against government and not private businesses and individuals. Therefore it is impossible to rely on this charter in an action against a corporation or individual acting independently from the government.²⁵

Finally, in terms of international human rights law implementation, Canada can sign and then ratify a treaty or simply apply an accession, which has been described as being similar to a ratification but without the signature. After ratification or accession, Canada will be bound to abide by the treaty.²⁶ Also, Canada has a policy which mandates that international human rights treaties must satisfy its treaty requirement before it can become binding. To determine if it fulfills the policy requirements, the federal government and the provincial government (when it affects their jurisdiction) will carry out a comprehensive review of its domestic laws, practices, regulations, policies and the treaty, in order to, identify any disparity that may exist and proffer a means to resolve the disparity.²⁷

Furthermore, the review process is carried out by three federal departments: The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, the Department of Justice and the Department of Canadian Heritage. However, the subject matter of the treaty will determine if other government departments may equally participate.²⁸

²⁰*Id.*

²¹ *Id.*

²² Canadian Human Rights Commission, *Human Rights In Canada*, (May 15,2020, 3:54PM) <https://www.chrc-ccdp.gc.ca/eng/content/human-rights-in-canada#:~:text=>

²³ *Id.*

²⁴ *Id.*

²⁵ *Id.*

²⁶ Department of Justice, *International Human Rights Treaty Adherence Process in Canada* (May 15, 2020, 3:45PM) <https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/abt-apd/icg-gci/ihrl-didp/ta-pa.html>

²⁷ Department of Justice, *Roles and Responsibilities-International Human Rights Treaty Law* (May 15, 2020, 4:15PM) <https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/abt-apd/icg-gci/ihrl-didp/tl-dt.html>

²⁸ *Id.*

The steps in the federal review process include; the Department of Justice Consults with the department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade other affected federal department including non-governmental and civil society organizations to review federal regulations, policies and practices.²⁹ If there is an identified disparity then “consideration is given to whether legislation, regulations and/or policies must be enacted or amended, or whether, where allowed under the treaty, a reservation, which excludes or modifies the legal effect of a particular treaty provision, should be entered upon ratification or accession.”³⁰ Canada may give a declaration to interpret an unclear obligation in the treaty. As of January 28, 2008, where Canada decide to ratify or accede to a treaty, it will be table before the parliament to give their opinion where they so desire.³¹

Eritrea and the National Service Program

Going down history lane, Eritrea was colonized by Italy from 1890 to 1941 and after the Second World War Eritrea became a British Protectorate up to the time it was merged with Ethiopia, a neighboring country.³² Following a protracted thirty year war with Ethiopia, a referendum for Eritrea’s independence was accepted by Ethiopia in April 29, 1993 after the Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF) defeated the Ethiopian army in May 1991.³³

Eritrea after gaining independence became a member state of the United Nations and was recognized by countries of the world including Canada. Canadian and Eritrean government have direct diplomatic relations and the nationals of both countries require visa to enter the territory of the other. Permission is equally needed to move within Eritrea, including to the Bisha Mine where the act leading to the Nevsun case occurred.³⁴

Since gaining independence in 1993, Eritrea has been under the leadership of Isaias Afewerki as president and no elections have been conducted since gaining independence. The president’s party, the People’s Front for Democracy and Justice (“PFDJ”), is the only existing political party in Eritrea till date. It is noteworthy that Ethiopia and Eritrea fought a border war from 1998 to 2000 and even after the war ended, Ethiopian troops continued to occupy a portion of Eritrea.³⁵ This has been used as an excuse for the method of governance in Eritrea and the need for the Eritrean National Service Program (the “NSP”) which gave rise to the Nevsun case and has been condemned by organizations such as Human Rights Watch as a wanton violation of human rights.³⁶

According to court documents and expert testimonies of both the plaintiffs and Defendant, The NSP is a military and national service program conducted by the Ministry of Defense. Mr. Connell³⁷ and Prof. Andemariam³⁸ concur that the NSP comprises of six months of military training and a twelve month “military development service program”. The military development service program comprises either posting to government agencies or other jobsites for coaching and expertise development, or posting to the Eritrean military for “purely military service”. The plaintiffs in the case allege that genuine objection is not accepted.

Furthermore, around year 2002, the government commenced a bulk “demobilization and reintegration program” through which participants of the NSP went on engaging national development campaigns until they were demobilized. According to Prof. Andemariam’s and Mr. Connell’s report, the “military development service” part of the NSP prolong indefinitely until demobilization as against, the provided

²⁹ *Id.*

³⁰ *Supra* note 23

³¹ *Id.*

³² *Araya v. Nevsun Resources Ltd.*, 2016 BCSC 1856 (CanLII), <<http://canlii.ca/t/gv11z>>, retrieved on 2020-03-15. See also 408 DLR (4th) 383 — [2016] CarswellBC 2786 — [2016] BCJ No 2095 (QL)

³³ *Id.*

³⁴ *Id.*

³⁵ *Id.*

³⁶ *Id.* Human Rights Watch reported in the mid-2000s that national service conscripts were used as labour on public works and farms belonging to party and military officials. Human Rights Watch reported in 2006 that individuals attempting to flee national service in Eritrea are frequently tortured.

³⁷ *Id.* Expert witness for the plaintiffs who wrote a book on Eritrea which was admitted by the court.

³⁸ *Id.* Expert witness for the defendants, a professor and journalist from Eritrea

eighteen months period. This is due to the fact that the initial demobilization program was aborted by the government and replaced a case-by-case demobilization on individual basis.³⁹

The plaintiffs allege that this program gives labour to senior military officers owned companies such as Segen Construction Company (“Segen”) and Mereb Construction Company (“Mereb”).⁴⁰ It is notable that related remarks are contained in a 2008 US Department of State report, a 2007 and 2009 Human Rights Watch report, and Mr. Connell’s reports. These reports states that members of the family of children who failed to report for the NSP were arrested while, those who attempted to escape the program or those caught escaping were jailed without charge or trial.⁴¹ Also, those who flee after being drafted and assigned on civilian development projects were taken as deserter and dealt with under the military law since their earnings was paid to the Ministry of Defense.⁴²

Nevsun and Eritrea’s Bisha Mine

Eritrea’s Bisha Mine is owned and managed by The Bisha Mining Share Company (“BMSC”) which is owned by Nevsun. The Bisha Mine is located in 150km west of Asmara in the Gash-Barka province in Eritrea and is the foremost working modern mine in Eritrea. The mine sits on a bulky, superior sulphide residue with superior base metal reserves- gold, copper and zinc.⁴³

In 2008, the construction of the Bisha Mine commenced and was completed in 2010. An Eritrean contractor became engaged with BMSC when it was subcontracted by SENET, a South African Company contracted by BMSC as the “Engineering, Procurement and Construction Manager (“EPCM”) for the construction of the Bisha Mine.”⁴⁴ Segen’s work is under the supervision of SENET. “Extraction of minerals has proceeded as follows: phase 1, commercial gold production commenced in February 2011; phase 2, copper production commenced in late 2013; and phase 3, consists of a zinc expansion project and is not yet complete.”⁴⁵

Nevsun is alleged to have entered into a commercial agreement with Eritrea in order to expand the Bisha Mine. In order to do this, Nevsun was alleged to have directly contracted Segen, the Eritrean military, and Mereb to construct infrastructure and mine facilities at the Bisha Mine. These contractors in turn used forced labor procured from the plaintiffs. On the other hand Nevsun refutes this claim on the ground that it was not in any way directly involved and that it was SENET that contracted Segen.⁴⁶

According to Mr. Connell’s report, Eritrea practices a command economy⁴⁷ and the Bisha Mine is, currently, the only largest revenue source for Eritrea as eighty percent of Eritreans still practice small scale agriculture. In 2013, gold exportation generated \$143 million, almost entirely from the Bisha Mine. Mr. Connell also reports that since independence, Eritrea has encountered several economic difficulties which have been intensified by limiting economic policies such as inadequate resources and protracted drought.

³⁹ *Id.*

⁴⁰ *Id.*

⁴¹ *Id.*

⁴² *Id.*

⁴³ *id.*

⁴⁴ *Id.*

⁴⁵ *Id.*

⁴⁶ *Id.*

⁴⁷ This is an economy where the central government makes all economic decisions without recourse to the laws of supply and demand which exist in a market economy and customs that guide traditional economy. see Kimberly Amadeo, *Command Economy, Its Characteristics, Pros and Cons* (mar. 29, 2020, 2:00PM) <https://www.thebalance.com/command-economy-characteristics-pros-cons-and-examples-3305585>

Facts and Court Holdings in Araya v Nevsun Resources Ltd., 2016 BCSC 1856 (CanLII)⁴⁸*Plaintiff Arguments*

The plaintiffs named, Gize Yebeyo Araya, Kesete Tekle Fshazion, and Mihretab Yemane Tekle are Eritrean citizens who are currently refugees in Canada. They instituted this action on behalf of themselves and other Eritreans who were drafted on the NSP and made to work in the Bisha Mines from 2008 to this present day.⁴⁹

Plaintiffs claim to have been drafted into Eritrean NSP and then used by two private companies-Segen and Mereb, one of which is owned by Eritrean military- for force labour at the Bisha Mines.⁵⁰ They claim that these companies were contracted by Nevsun and/or its Eritrean subsidiary, BMSC, for building the Bisha Mine. Therefore, Nevsun is directly accountable for tolerating the acts perpetrated by Segen, Mereb, and the Eritrean military which were done in furtherance of Nevsun's commercial objectives.⁵¹

The plaintiffs seek damages against Nevsun under CIL as adopted into Canada's domestic law for "forced labor; torture; slavery; cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment; and crimes against humanity."⁵² They equally seek damages against Nevsun under British Columbia law for "the torts of conversion, battery, unlawful confinement, negligence, conspiracy, and negligent infliction of mental distress." However, this research will only concern itself with the claims under CIL.⁵³

In their respective affidavits, Kesete Tekle Fshazion, alleged to have been refused permission to leave the NSP after serving for six years and that he was sent by Segen to work at the Bisha Mine before his escape from the mine and Eritrea in 2012. Gize Yebeyo Araya also allege to have been refused permission to leave after completing his eighteen months training in the NSP and was equally sent off to work at the Bisha Mine by Segen until October 2010. Similarly, Mihretab Yemane Tekle, allege to have also been refused release after completing his eighteen months training and was sent off to work at the Bisha Mines until October 2010.⁵⁴

Furthermore, Mr. Tekle alleges that the temperature at the site where they worked was up to 47 degrees Celsius and they were completely subjected to working under the sun. Mr. Araya alleges that the heat burned and scared his face and he saw others being "punished beaten, being made to roll or run in hot sand, and being bound with their hands and feet tied together behind their back and left in the hot sun, often for hours."⁵⁵

Mr. Araya and Mr. Tekle both allege they were forced to work six days a week and usually woke up at 4:00am, working twelve hours each day including a two hour lunch break. He claims they and other draftees were provided little food- bread, lentil soup, and tea- for the whole day.⁵⁶ They were sheltered in huts without beds or electricity. In addition, Mr. Tekle claimed "he was always very hungry, weak, and often sick" and he once saw a worker collapse while working in the hot sun. While Mr. Fshazion states he was made to work seven days a week, out of which he worked ten hours for six days and the seventh day, he worked eight hours in the field, testing soil density.⁵⁷

The Defense Arguments

In response to the Plaintiff's claims, Nevsun brought a motion to strike the pleadings on the basis of the act of state doctrine, which precludes domestic courts from assessing the sovereign acts of a foreign government. Nevsun also took the position that the claims based on CIL should be struck out because they have no reasonable prospect of success.

⁴⁸Araya v. Nevsun Resources Ltd., 2016 BCSC 1856 , Supra note 29

⁴⁹ Id.

⁵⁰ Id.

⁵¹ Id.

⁵² Id.

⁵³ Id.

⁵⁴ Id.

⁵⁵ Id.

⁵⁶ Id.

⁵⁷ Id.

The attorney's defending Nevsun relied on three defenses- first, the forum non conveniens doctrine-a discretionary power of a court to refuse to exercise its jurisdiction where another court may well be suited to handle the case⁵⁸. Second, the Act of State doctrine- a domestic court of a state could not sit in judgment of an act done in the territory of another state. Third, the absence of private law cause of action against corporation for the infringement of customary international law rules.⁵⁹

Nevsun sought permission to appeal to the supreme court of Canada in January 2018 and on 14 June 2018, the Supreme Court approved the leave to appeal. This matter is one of the fifth cases where foreign plaintiff's suit against a Canadian Mining Company has made it to the "motion to dismiss stage" of a Canadian court proceedings. According to Jolane, some of the implications is the perception that holding in Nevsun can open the door way for Canadian courts to get involve in Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). Also, it may be an opportunity for the Canadian court to respond to new legal issues for example "corporate liability for violations of Customary International Law (CIL) or the scope and applicability of the Act of State doctrine."⁶⁰

Court Holdings

The BCCA held that the defendant Forum Application was dismissed because Nevsun did not establish that Eritrea was the proper forum to handle the matter. Accordingly, the action would proceed in the Court; and the defendant Act of State defense and CIL Applications were dismissed. The chambers judge dismissed Nevsun's motion to strike, and the Court of Appeal agreed.⁶¹

Now coming to the extant decision of the Supreme Court of Canada⁶² which is the basis of this research, the Supreme Court reasoned that since time immemorial, Canada has steadily abide by the practice of "automatically incorporating customary international law into domestic law via the doctrine of adoption, making it part of the law of Canada." Embedded within CIL is the *jus cogens* norm that is, a peremptory norm from which there can be no derogation. In the instant case the plaintiffs claim to violation of not just any CIL but one that falls with the *jus cogens* norm. As it has been confirmed that the "prohibitions against slavery, forced labour and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment have attained the status of *jus cogens*." Therefore, customary international law is instantly accepted into the Canadian domestic law without a need for any legislative process.⁶³

In addition, the majority held that CIL as part of the Canadian law must be treated like every other domestic law in Canada. Therefore a violation by a Canadian company can supposedly be resolved. Also, considering "the public nature and importance of the violated rights involved, the gravity of their breach, the impact on the domestic and global rights objectives, and the need to deter subsequent breaches, it is enough to conclude that the breaches of customary international law, or *jus cogens*, relied on by the Eritrean workers may well apply to Nevsun."⁶⁴

Since the customary international law norms alleged by the Eritrean workers make up part of the common law of Canada, and since Nevsun is a Canadian company subject to Canadian law, the claims of the Plaintiff for breaches of customary international law was allowed to proceed. It is noteworthy that the court refused to address whether or not Nevsun has violated CIL stating "The Court is not required to determine definitively whether the Eritrean workers should be awarded damages for the alleged breaches of customary international law." but merely addressed the fact that Canada could hear the claim against Nevsun under CIL.⁶⁵

However, there was a partly dissenting opinion and a fully dissenting opinion. In the Partly dissenting opinion, the judges agree that "there are prohibitions at international law against crimes against humanity, slavery, the use of forced labor, and cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment; these prohibitions

⁵⁸ Cornell Law School, Legal Information Institute (Mar.28, 2020, 4:00PM) https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/forum_non_conveniens

⁵⁹ Jolane, supra note 5, at 143, 2018

⁶⁰ Jolane, supra note 5, at 145

⁶¹ Id.

⁶² Nevsun Resources Ltd. v. Araya, 2020 SCC 5,(May 17,2020) <https://www.canlii.org/en/ca/scc/doc/2020/2020scc5/2020scc5.html?resultIndex=14>

⁶³ Id.

⁶⁴ Id.

⁶⁵ Id.

have the status of *jus cogens*; individuals and states both must obey some customary international law prohibitions, and it is a question for the trial judge whether they must obey these specific prohibitions; and individuals are beneficiaries of these prohibitions.” Also, an established CIL can become a source of Canadian domestic law except it contradicts an existing law. ⁶⁶

However, there is disagreement as to the civil liability of a corporation in Canada for a violation of CIL. In their words, “It is plain and obvious that corporations are excluded from direct liability at customary international law.⁶⁷ Corporate liability for human rights violations has not been recognized under customary international law; at most, the proposition that such liability has been recognized is equivocal. Customary international law is not binding if it is equivocal. Absent a binding norm, the workers’ cause of action is clearly doomed to fail.”⁶⁸

Moreover, the workers did not plead the necessary facts of state practice and *opinio juris* to support the proposition that a prohibition of customary international law requires states to provide domestic civil liability rules. The workers also did not plead the necessary facts to support the proposition that a prohibition of customary international law itself contains a liability rule.⁶⁹ Furthermore, it is within the domain of the legislature to determine if there would be a change and the court is merely overstepping its boundaries in ruling the way it did. ⁷⁰

On the other hand, in the full dissenting opinion, it is the judges’ view that the application of CIL to corporations poses a serious deviation from this field of law. In their words, “the widespread, representative and consistent state practice and *opinio juris* required to establish a customary rule do not presently exist to support the proposition that international human rights norms have horizontal application between individuals and corporations.”⁷¹

Therefore, they do not share the majority’s view with respect to the “existence and applicability” of the act of state doctrine. As such, it is their view that the plaintiffs do not have a claim within the Canadian Legal System but, can look towards “the plane of international affairs for resolution in accordance with the principles of public international law and diplomacy.”⁷²

Furthermore, they reasoned that the claim touches on the lawful act of the Eritrean government and to hear it would mean that the court is “overstepping the limits of its proper institutional role.” and therefore interfering in the “conduct by the executive of Canada’s international relations.”⁷³ This is because “questions of international law relating to internationally wrongful acts of foreign states are not juridical claims amenable to adjudication on judicial or manageable standards. Nevsun can be liable only if the acts of the actual alleged perpetrators — Eritrea and its agents — were unlawful as a matter of public international law.” Therefore the Plaintiff’s claim must fail because it requires a determination on whether Eritrea has breached international law.⁷⁴

Analyzing in the Context of International Human Rights Norms:

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The UDHR⁷⁵ is a core international human rights instrument drafted by representatives from different legal and cultural backgrounds from all parts of the world including, John Humphrey, a Canadian lawyer who played an important role.⁷⁶ The Declaration was proclaimed by the UN General Assembly in Paris

⁶⁶ Id.

⁶⁷ Id.

⁶⁸ Id.

⁶⁹ Id.

⁷⁰ Id.

⁷¹ Id.

⁷² Id.

⁷³ Id.

⁷⁴ Id.

⁷⁵ United Nations, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, (Mar.17, 2020, 5:00pm) <https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>

⁷⁶ Canadian Human Rights Commission, Human Rights In Canada,(May 15, 2020, 6:30PM) <https://www.chrc-ccdp.gc.ca/eng/content/human-rights-in-canada#:~:text=>

on December 10, 1948⁷⁷, in its attempt to secure international peace just after its establishment in 1945. The UDHR lists out “basic rights and fundamental freedoms” in 30 articles and “it has been suggested that the resulting influence of the declaration as well as repeated invocation of the declaration has made it a part of customary international law.”⁷⁸

The first two articles are about equality and freedom from discrimination, the foundation of the Canadian Human Rights Act.⁷⁹ Article 4 of the UDHR provides that “No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.”⁸⁰ Article 5 provides “No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment”⁸¹ and Article 23 provides for free choice of employment and to just and favorable conditions of employment.⁸²

Whereas in the Nevsun case, Plaintiffs were subjected to torture and had to no say in the kind of jobs they were contracted to perform. They were forcefully conscripted under the NSP program without pay for an indefinite period of time. All the peculiarities of this case go against the very tenets and provisions of the UDHR. However, since the UDHR is a mere declaration, it is a soft law which has no binding effect. But, it is the foundation on which convention against slavery and convention against torture and forced labor was built.

Forced Labor Convention of 1930⁸³

Canada ratified the convention in 2011. Under article 2, forced or compulsory Labor is defined as all work or service which is exacted from any person under the menace of any penalty and for which the said person has not offered himself voluntarily. However, the competent authority shall not impose or permit the imposition of forced or compulsory labor for the benefit of private individuals, companies or associations.⁸⁴ No concession granted to private individuals, companies or associations shall involve any form of forced or compulsory labor for the production or the collection of products which such private individuals, companies or associations utilize or in which they trade.⁸⁵ Officials of the administration, even when they have the duty of encouraging the populations under their charge to engage in some form of labor, shall not put constraint upon the said populations or upon any individual members thereof to work for private individuals, companies or associations.⁸⁶ Furthermore, under the Abolition of Forced Labor Convention 1957, all states are to take steps to suppress any form of forced or compulsory labor as a method of mobilizing and using labor for purposes of economic development.⁸⁷ Canada ratified this Convention 14 July 1959 and Eritrea ratified it 22nd February 2000.

Convention Against Torture⁸⁸

The Convention came into force in 1987 provides that each state shall ensure that all acts of torture are offences under its criminal law, including an attempt to commit torture and to an act by any person which constitutes complicity or participation in torture.⁸⁹ Each state are to take measures to establish its jurisdiction over the offences in cases When the alleged offender is a national of that State⁹⁰; When the

⁷⁷ General Assembly Resolution 217A, (Mar. 17, 2020, 6:00PM)

[https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/217\(III\)](https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/217(III))

⁷⁸ Carasco supra note 3

⁷⁹ Supra note 70

⁸⁰ Supra note 69

⁸¹ Id.

⁸² Id.

⁸³ Forced Labor Convention 1930(Mar.19, 2020, 7:30PM)

https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C029,

⁸⁴ Id. article 4

⁸⁵ Id. article 5

⁸⁶ Id. article 6

⁸⁷ United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105) (Mar.24, 2020, %:30PM) <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/AbolitionOf-ForcedLabourConvention.aspx>. See Article 1(b)

⁸⁸ United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (Mar.24, 2020, 6:00PM), <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cat.aspx>

⁸⁹ Id. Article 4

⁹⁰ Id. Article 5(b)

victim is a national of that State if that State considers it appropriate.⁹¹ In addition, under Article 14, Each State Party shall ensure in its legal system that the victim of an act of torture obtains redress and has an enforceable right to fair and adequate compensation, including the means for as full rehabilitation as possible. In the event of the death of the victim as a result of an act of torture, his dependants shall be entitled to compensation.

The Convention to suppress Slave Trade and Slavery⁹²

Slavery is defined as “the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised.”⁹³ While slave trade is defined to include all acts involved in “the capture, acquisition or disposal of a person with intent to reduce him to slavery; all acts involved in the acquisition of a slave with a view to selling or exchanging him; all acts of disposal by sale or exchange of a slave acquired with a view to being sold or exchanged, and, in general, every act of trade or transport in slaves.”⁹⁴

In the instant case, a breach of this covenant is one of the claims alleged by the plaintiffs and it is supported by facts of such acts taking place in Eritrea especially with regard to the autocratic nature of government currently in place. According to the records of the court and the expert testimonies of Mr. Dan Cornell and Professor Senai Wolde-Ab Andemariam for the plaintiff and defendant respectively, the NSP has been going on for long. The NSP has been likened to a modern day slavery where youths are drafted and sent off to work for indefinite period of time for private companies like Nevsun, under the guise of serving the country’s economic purpose for the greater good. In turn, these workers are subject to torture, degrading and inhuman acts by these companies against without recourse from the government. Now, let us briefly look at modern day slavery in Eritrea.

Africa has been considered as the continent with the highest rate of modern day slavery in the world⁹⁶, with Eritrea listed just after North Korea as the second country in the world with the highest prevalence of modern day slavery. Slavery is mainly prevalent in Eritrea and Mauritania and has been at times taken as an institutionalized practice due to a one-party system of government and the NSP.⁹⁷ According to a 2018 Global Slavery Index, some of the factors that have contributed to the increase in modern day slavery include “conflicts prone or war given the disruptions to the rule of law, damage of infrastructure and restricted access to education, health care, food and water as a result of conflict.”⁹⁸ For instance, President Isaias Afewerki for twenty years has relied on the war with Ethiopia to justify his autocratic government, the utilization of forced conscription into the NSP and, eventual indefinite extension despite, a prior decree limiting service to eighteen months.

Furthermore, journalists, activists and opponents of the system imposed by the president’s government are jailed indefinitely without trial, often isolated. Independent media political parties (other than the president’s party) and nongovernmental organizations are prohibited. Also, elections, a legislature, and an independent judiciary are all not permitted because the president believes they would undermine

⁹¹ Id. Article 5(c)

⁹² The Convention on the Suppression of Slave Trade and Slavery and Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery (1926), <https://www.refworld.org/docid/58c156dc4.html>, accessed 19 March 2020. The Convention to Suppress the Slave Trade and Slavery known as the Slavery Convention, signed on September 25, 1926 and entered in to force on 7 March 1927. This convention was created under the auspices of the League of Nations and serves as the foundation for the prevention and suppression of the slave trade. With the 1926 Slavery Convention, concrete rules and articles were decided upon, and slavery and slave trade were banned. The definition of slavery is further refined and extended by the 1956 Supplementary Convention (1956), <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/SupplementaryConventionAbolitionOfSlavery.aspx>, accessed 19 March 2020. Eritrea is not a party to the Original Convention Against Slavery but the Supplementary Convention.

⁹³ Id. at Article 1(1)

⁹⁴ Id. at Article 1(2)

⁹⁶ Global Slavery Index (Apr. 1, 2020, 6:00PM) <https://www.globalslaveryindex.org/2018/findings/global-findings/>

⁹⁷ Abdi Latif Dahir, *Africa is Again the World Epicenter of Modern-Day Slavery*(Apr. 1, 2020, 8:00PM) <https://qz.com/africa/1333946/global-slavery-index-africa-has-the-highest-rate-of-modern-day-slavery-in-the-world/>

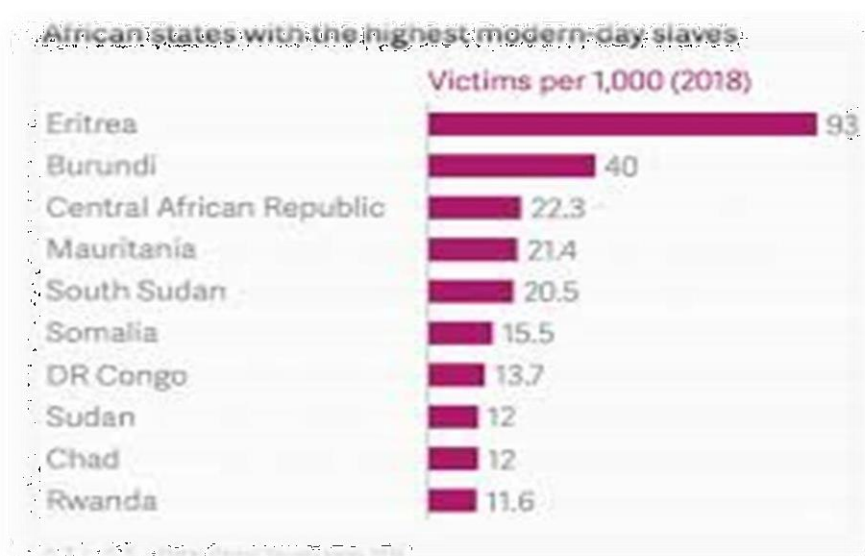
⁹⁸ Id.

Eritrea's defenses.⁹⁹ Some religious groups are forbidden altogether, and others strictly regulated by government appointees. Implementation of a constitution approved by a constituent assembly in 1997, before the war, was deferred indefinitely.¹⁰⁰ The rights of all Eritrean citizens remain severely restricted, but younger generations conscripted into the NSP are especially impacted.

In 2016, a UN commission of inquiry on human rights in Eritrea described the NSP as "enslavement." And that despite its agreement with Ethiopia, the government has not released any long-term NSP conscripts.¹⁰¹ However, the NSP is not the only reason thousands of Eritreans including minors leave Eritrea monthly but, it remains a main cause and almost 15 percent of the population has fled since the 1998 war. After the Eritrea-Ethiopia border opened, the number of fleeing Eritreans, especially unaccompanied minors, increased significantly, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).¹⁰²

Conscripts have long been subject to inhuman and degrading punishment, including torture, without recourse. Although pay was increased in recent years, it remains nominal and insufficient to support a family; especially as such increases are offset by higher deductions for food. Eritrea's information ministers acknowledged in a 2018 interview that less than one-fifth of conscripts have military roles. The rest are farm laborers, teachers, construction workers, civil servants, lower-level judges, and other civilian laborers. Conscripts assigned to government-owned construction firms work on building infrastructure at foreign-owned mineral mines.¹⁰³ Meanwhile, under Article 4 of the Convention Against Slavery, contracting Parties shall give to one another every assistance with the object of securing the abolition of slavery and the slave trade and article 5 provides not to allow forced labor which as a grave consequence could degenerate to slavery.¹⁰⁴

However, this act is not without implications as it was discovered that governments that capitalized on forced labor "have lower quality policy regulations, perform below the global average in ensuring access to necessities such as food and water and health care and typically do not protect the rights of highly discriminated groups in the broader population." in other words, the overall development of the country is severely hampered.¹⁰⁵



Source: Abdi Latif Dahir, 'Africa is Again the World Epicenter of Modern-Day Slavery'

⁹⁹ Id.

¹⁰⁰ Id.

¹⁰¹ Human Rights Watch, '2019 World Report' (Mar.18, 2020, 7:00PM), <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2019/country-chapters/eritrea>,

¹⁰² Id.

¹⁰³ Id.

¹⁰⁴ Supra note 77

¹⁰⁵ Id.

Digital Age and Women Trafficking in Eritrea

Due to the NSP program and other acts of human rights violations perpetrated by the Eritrean government, a lot of Eritreans have found themselves fleeing and seeking refuge in neighboring countries such as Ethiopia and Uganda. Meanwhile, there are those who have turned to the Sinai route in Egypt hoping for a safe passage to Israel. But, unfortunately, the journey has not been smooth so far as many of them fall in the hands of traffickers, placed in camps where they are tortured for ransoms. Therefore, this subsection will examine the plight of Eritrean women in human trafficking through the Sinai route located in Egypt's Hinterland. The main literature is the *Human Trafficking and Trauma in the Digital Era: The Ongoing Tragedy of the Trade in Refugees from Eritrea*¹⁰⁶ among other sources. Although, the literature focuses on Human Trafficking in general that is, men, women and children. This subsection will focus on the case of the women being trafficked, peculiar trauma and possible solutions through digital strategies.

History

Human trafficking through Sinai¹⁰⁷ was brought to light in 2008 but, till date, the perpetrators have never been brought to justice.¹⁰⁸ Meanwhile, this illicit trade in humans has continued to spread its tentacles across North Africa and Horn of Africa, specifically targeting Eritreans due to their susceptibility to traffickers and smugglers.¹⁰⁹

According to interviews conducted by the authors, the smuggling and trafficking of persons is one of the informal cross border trades in Eritrea and it is booming with the support and control of the president, government officials and military. This is also promoted due to the crippling of the official economy as a result of the ban on imports and the NSP.¹¹⁰

A connecting point between the Nevsun case and this subsection is the alleged involvement of the Eritrean government (acting through government officials) in the violation of core human rights norms against slavery, torture and forced labor. In 2011, the United Nations Monitoring group on Somalia and Eritrea discovered evidence which made it opine that the massive scale¹¹¹ of the trafficking could only be possible with the involvement of government officials.¹¹²

Trafficking of Eritrean Women

Eritrean women's plight in the face of illegal emigration out of Eritrea inspired by the NSP and its resultant effect is not widely covered. The perspective of the authors is formed by the interview of Eritrean women refugees in Uganda but it is said that that it covers the general experiences of Eritrean women in other states although more research is needed in those states to bring the experiences to light.¹¹³

All Eritrean children are normally required to do their last year of high school at Sawa Military Training Center.¹¹⁴ The women are said to encounter many problems due to the mandatory and indefinite NSP as they encounter sexual abuse from the military commanders and counterparts, imprisonment, torture

¹⁰⁶ Mirjan Van Reisen and Munyaradzi Mawere et. al, *Human Trafficking and Trauma in the Digital Era: The Ongoing Tragedy of the Trade in Refugees from Eritrea*, Langa RPCIG, (Apr. 8, 2020, 9:00PM) <file:///C:/Users/PC/Downloads/MawerevanReisen-Humantraffickinginthedigitalera-2017-compressed.pdf>

¹⁰⁷ Sinai is a desert peninsula in the northeastern end of Egypt. It connects Israel and the Gaza Strip on the East. The peninsula was once occupied by Israel in 1967 during a six day war but, was given back to Egypt in 1982 after a peace treaty was reached by both countries. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Sinai-Peninsula> accessed 8 April, 2020

¹⁰⁸ Reisen and Mawere, supra note 106, at 19

¹⁰⁹ Id.

¹¹⁰ Id. at 26

¹¹¹ There was an estimated trafficking of 30,000 persons between 2009 and 2013 at an estimated rate of over USD 600 million, at 20

¹¹² Id. at 20

¹¹³ Id. 221

¹¹⁴ Id. 225

among others. The women get married or pregnant at very young age in a bid to escape being conscripted for the NSP or as a result of rape. Some families give out their daughters under the age of 18 in a bid to spare her from the NSP.¹¹⁵

Even after release from the program, for marriage or due to pregnancy, these women are not spared the circumstances of the NSP as their children and husbands are still affected. In a bid to spare their kids or reunite with their husbands who have fled Eritrea due to the NSP or as a result of imprisonment and mistreatment for the escape of family members,¹¹⁶ they are therefore forced to find a way out of the strong grasp of Eritrea amidst its strict emigration policy(exit visa and “shoot to kill” at the border) and that of the neighboring countries. The only way they envisage is to surrender themselves into the hands of smugglers and eventually traffickers. If they succeed in making it out of Eritrea, they are then forced to live in refugee camps and cities with little or no means of survival therefore, making them more vulnerable to abuses (especially sexual abuse) than their male counterparts.¹¹⁷

Root Causes

Impoverishment as a result of the NSP and creation of Black Market

The government of Eritrea is deemed to be involved in practicing a contraband economy whereby, the economy is managed without a budget, a central Bank and a statistics bureau. Therefore, the economy is firmly under the control of the president and his party who oversees the various companies that are involved in construction and other areas operating firmly within the framework of the government and his allies.¹¹⁸

Furthermore, in a deliberate policy to promote the impoverishment and indirectly the NSP, the Eritrean government under the auspices of its president does not allow the citizens of Eritrea to earn income by their own means so that, everyone is doing national service under the NSP. In addition, family members of children who escape the country are fined. Those who work under the NSP earn meager salaries that they can barely survive on thereby, being dependent on the government and having no recourse to oppose the government. Technically, it is a planned system set to rub the youths and individuals of free will and ambition as their hopes tends only toward making it through the day.¹¹⁹

As a consequence of the low earnings of government officials and under the NSP, there is room for corruption and control as these officials and other citizens engage in illegal activities including smuggling and human trafficking while the government and the judiciary turns a blind eye. Another consequence is that the complete ban on import has fostered “illegal cross- border trade carried out with the full knowledge and participation of the government, its officials and the military.”¹²⁰

Lastly, It is illegal to have small businesses or farms and the thriving businesses have been monopolized by the government resulting in the creation of black markets as any business survival is determinate on the backing of the government due to “continuous intervention and monopolization of import and export channels.”¹²¹

Trafficking Facilitated By Information and Communication Technologies

Eritreans are not allowed to travel out of the country without permit meanwhile it is extremely difficult to officially obtain such a permit. Therefore people resort to smugglers to be able to get out of Eritrea through the borders and Refugees in this border are greatly tortured.¹²²

¹¹⁵ Id. 226

¹¹⁶ Id.226-227. In one instance, a girl of 16 was imprisoned and tortured to the point of death for information on the whereabouts of her father. In another instance, the woman was beaten to an extent she was later confirmed by a doctor to be unable to bear children as a result of damage to her womb for the severe beatings she got while imprisoned.

¹¹⁷ Id. 222-223

¹¹⁸ Id at 21

¹¹⁹ Id. 22,23

¹²⁰ Id. 26

¹²¹ Id.

¹²² Id. 28,29

The smugglers engaged in this illegal trade are mainly Eritreans who are struggling to survive and have a good knowledge of the Eritrean-Ethiopian border well. There are also smugglers from Eritrea to Sudan who are more refined, operating through family networks, utilizing information and communication technologies (ICTs). The traffickers give their victims numbers and these numbers are used in smuggling in them and also for demanding ransoms when they are abducted.¹²³

The Sinai trafficking organization is deemed to have specific agents throughout the world, operating from different locations; Khartoum, Asmara, Libya, Cairo, Israel etc, through their embassies and agents.¹²⁴

Mass Detention and Torture of Youths

The genesis of human trafficking resulting from illegal migration through smuggling can be traced back to the Eritrean-Ethiopia War of 1998-2000¹²⁵ as, this war led to the application of the mandatory NSP policy which has been in place since 1994, by the Eritrean government. In 2001, the situation deteriorated as certain government officials were targeted and detained in prisons for criticizing the government, also, five thousand university students were equally arrested after they demanded for an increase in the amount allocated for a summer work program which was not sufficient for their sustenance. They were instead accused of siding with the earlier arrested government officials and detained in notorious military prisons where they lived for two months in "iron sheet barracks,"¹²⁶ subjected to harsh temperatures of an average of 38 degrees centigrade and two students died from sudden change in temperature as they were taken to stream to cool off after a day also, they had nothing to eat but canned food. As punishments, they were made to walk for two hours to collect stones to fill up a "1 by 2 by 6 meter-long rectangular tubes."¹²⁷ Some of these torture methods used in the detention camps brutal beatings, tying up prisoners in suspended positions till their limbs are paralyzed, electric shock to genital torture, rape and sex slavery and hard labor.¹²⁸

Children were not left out of the mass migration/human trafficking as a result of the NSP program. Minors are being detained for trying to escape Eritrea and the NSP. These minors are motivated to embark on this dangerous journey through Ethiopia, Libya, Sudan and Egypt as result of their parents, siblings or relatives being drafted into the NSP indefinitely or detained and also reported cases of minors being forcefully conscripted especially those caught trying to leave the country. These minors do not want to join the military hence they flee.¹²⁹

As the journey on the Sinai progressed from Eritrea, Sudan to Egypt, an erstwhile safe passage can gradually metamorphose into abduction and eventual trafficking.¹³⁰ These victims of circumstances seeking safe passage to refugee camps in Ethiopia or Sudan soon find themselves being sold into a journey to the Sinai and ultimately Israel, a journey they never bargained for.¹³¹ They are traded like mere commodities whose price increase as more efforts such as protection money, logistics, transport are put in to get them to the destination. The authors noted that this trend did not occur with other trafficked victims from Ethiopia or Sudan but rather only to Eritreans which gave away the suspicion that the Eritrean government is a participant in this illicit trade.¹³²

In an instance when 72 two escapees from the their torturer and abductors were crossing the border, they were spotted by the Egyptian border military who shot at them but unfortunately, 2 did not make it as they were women and one was pregnant at the time and could not jump the face. The whereabouts of the women are not known till date. They are claimed to either be imprisoned or killed during the shooting.¹³³

¹²³ Id.30

¹²⁴ Id.

¹²⁵ Id.98,99

¹²⁶ Id.100

¹²⁷ Id.110

¹²⁸ Id.113,114

¹²⁹ Id. 197

¹³⁰ Id. 39

¹³¹ Id. 39-42

¹³² Id. 55-59

¹³³ Id. 72-73

Sexual Violence Against Eritrean Women

Eritrean law provides that women from age eighteen to forty-seven engage in the NSP and some of the women were subjected to sexual abuse and harassment. Female conscripts are used as sex objects and forced to perform sexual services for military commanders through “threats of heavy military duties, harsh postings, and denial of home leave.”¹³⁴ Refusal to submit to sexual exploitation and abuse is allegedly punished by detention, torture and ill-treatment, including exposure to extreme heat and limitation of food rations. No effective mechanism for redress or protection exists within or outside the military, and perpetrators generally go unpunished.¹³⁵ When they become pregnant, they are discharged from the military and then have no other option but to embark on illegal journey from Eritrea with no means of support.¹³⁶ Also, some women have been jailed with their children-age 3-5 or younger for not having anyone to look after the children so they can join the NSP. Girls below 18 have been held in the camps without being posted to any unit/department or ministry and some of these women have spent more than a year in the camps under inhuman and degrading conditions.¹³⁷

Forced to engage in an illegal journey out of Eritrea, either through Sudan to Uganda or Libya to Egypt, Eritrean women and girls find it more difficult as they have to take safety measures-condoms and birth control shots because sexual violence is an expected occurrence and it was indeed experienced along the way either from the smugglers, traffickers or fellow travelers.¹³⁸

For those that journey through Libya, they were abducted and sold by ISIS fighters. The authors’ noted that it is difficult to find many cases on women abductees by ISIS because they are difficult to contact and even when they are contacted, they find it hard to relate their experiences due to trauma. These women are abducted and bought in large numbers (as high as 68), for the purpose of marrying and rendering sexual services to ISIS fighters but first, they are forced to convert from their orthodox Christian religion (common in Eritrea) to Islam.¹³⁹

For those that journeyed through Sudan to Uganda, they were equally faced with sexual abuse along the way and in one instance; the Eritrean woman was raped in the forest by her Eritrean companion while proceeding on foot to Kassala in Sudan with the ultimate goal of getting to Uganda.¹⁴⁰

One would expect the plight of this women to have reached conclusion on getting to their desired destination but that is not to be as in one instance, on going through and surviving a tortuous and traumatic journey to Israel, she was deceived by a doctor who told her she had colon disease and needed to take injections for seven days but later discovered after the arrest that those injections were to purposely Eritrean women sterile and she was indeed diagnosed among other 17 women to be unable to have children.¹⁴¹

Eritrea’s Laws For the Protection of Women

Eritrea ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1995 and afterwards, translated it into the local language.¹⁴² However, Eritrea is not a party to the Optional Protocol, which grants individuals the right to submit complaints to and for the Committee on

¹³⁴ US Department of State, Eritrea: Sexual Abuse of Women In the Military, Supplemental List of Supporting Documents, (Apr.18,2020,04:04) http://www.makeeverywomancount.org/images/stories/documents/USDepartmentofState_EritreaAbuseOfWomenInTheMilitary_2009.pdf, at 2

¹³⁵ Id. at 3

¹³⁶ Reisen and Mawere, *supra* note 106 at 196,

¹³⁷ Id. 197

¹³⁸ Id. 180

¹³⁹ Id. 182

¹⁴⁰ Id. 233

¹⁴¹ Id. 263

¹⁴² United Nations, Eritrea: The Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action and the Outcome of the twenty-third Special Session of the General Assembly (April 18, 2020, 09:58PM) <https://www.un.org/women-watch/daw/Review/responses/ERITREA-ENGLISH.pdf>, at 3

the Elimination of Discrimination against Women to hear such complaints, and to “conduct inquiries into grave systematic violations of women’s rights.”¹⁴³

Also, the Eritrean government has failed to sign the Convention Against Torture even though it has ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (April 2001), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (January 2002), and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (August 2001).¹⁴⁴

Furthermore, the Eritrean Constitution, ratified in 1997, guarantees equal rights for women and men through the interpretation of its constitutional language in Article 5, the protection of women’s rights in Article 7, Sub-article 7.2 which proclaims: “Any act that violates the human rights of women or limits or otherwise thwarts their role and participation is prohibited”¹⁴⁵ and the prohibition of discrimination on the basis of sex under article 14, and equality in family life in Article 22. However, despite these strong de jure protections, “the government applies these laws in an unbalanced way, resulting in inadequate protection of women’s rights, because of deeply entrenched cultural attitude towards women and an ineffective judicial system.”¹⁴⁶

Meanwhile, the constitution also makes it obligatory for every citizen to “complete one’s duty in the National Service” and the National Service Proclamation affirms that military service is compulsory for both males and females between the ages of 18 and 40. It is further reported that about 35% of the armed forces in Eritrea is female.¹⁴⁷

In addition, under the 2001 Labor Proclamation, the legal protection of women in employment was provided for and it states equal employment opportunity and maternity protection benefits for women. Article 65 concerning general protection measures provide: “Women may not be discriminated against as regards opportunity or treatment in employment and remuneration, on the basis of their sex. The Minister may, where a woman complains against discrimination pursuant to sub-Article hereof, decide whether there is discrimination on the basis of her sex. The Minister may, where he/she decides there is discrimination, order the employer concerned to rectify the situation. The woman or the employer may appeal against the decision of the Minister to the high court within fifteen days from the day they receive a copy of the decision.”¹⁴⁸

Lastly, with the drafting of most men into national service, more women had to step into the position of provider for the family, creating an increase in female-headed households. This situation made it more difficult to figure out ways to assist even more female-headed households to be self-supporting and with the government ban on independent NGOs from operating within Eritrea; the situation has become even more difficult for women to obtain the support that they need.¹⁴⁹

Therefore, one can see that existing laws do not help Eritrean women despite being beautifully coupled with the fact that government officials are often perpetrators of these abuses, most cases go unreported. An example is the peace processes with Ethiopia in June 2018 were all parties in the Eritrean delegation were men. According to Helen, this shows the extent to which women have disappeared from the social, economic and political scene of Eritrean society.¹⁵⁰

Digital Solutions To Eritrean Women Trafficking

Today, technology has been become so advanced and wide spread in the global arena that, it can no longer be considered a luxury but a necessity even in the poorest parts of the world. Mobile phones and

¹⁴³ Violence Against Girls in Eritrea: A Report to The Committee on the Rights of the Child (Apr.18, 2020, 10:22AM) https://www.omct.org/files/2004/07/2409/eng_2003_05_eritrea.pdf, at 200

¹⁴⁴ Id. 200

¹⁴⁵ United Nations, Supra note 140 at 2

¹⁴⁶ Violence Against Girls in Eritrea, Supra note 141 at 202

¹⁴⁷ Violence Against Girls in Eritrea, Supra note 141 at 213

¹⁴⁸ United Nations, Supra note 140, at 15

¹⁴⁹ Id.19

¹⁵⁰ Helen Kidan, From Empowerment During War, Eritrean Women Must Fight Gender Discrimination in a New Peace,(Apr.18, 2020, 10:48PM) <https://reliefweb.int/report/eritrea/empowerment-during-war-eritrean-women-must-fight-gender-discrimination-new-peace>

internet are necessary to stay in touch with people and stay informed of current happenings around the world, even for refugees and people migrating across borders.¹⁵¹

As in most parts of Africa, there are areas in Eritrea where ICT is largely absent and the use of technology devices is limited therefore, forming what is called a black hole meaning, people living in communities disconnected from the rest of the world.¹⁵²

Journalists in Eritrea have been forced into exile by the government and they set up networks in which news and information about happenings in Eritrea are spread. However, this does not go well for the Eritrean government which continues to crack down on these diaspora networks making sure to filter any information it deems improper. Therefore, ICT and interacting via mobile phones and internet is weak within Eritrea.¹⁵³

One of the resultant effects of living in a black hole is that when these Eritreans finally makes it into Ethiopia or any other neighboring countries and discover they have unrestricted access to ICT, they become triggered and motivated to keep on moving in search of a better place.¹⁵⁴

The solution is therefore creating awareness on how to get the proper information while utilizing ICT as it is easy for the few who are able to obtain a mobile phone for the first time to be easily misled by social media contents. Awareness cannot be accomplished without a change in the administration tactics of the current government. Trafficking in humans including that of women and children can be reduced if the women especially those in the black hole communities are well informed through social media, online seminars and conferences by neutral organizations not affiliated with the Eritrean government. Lastly, improvement in communication between the government and the people regarding the situation of things may help to stop the mass exodus and eventual human trafficking as a communication gap breeds mistrust and ICT is the perfect tool to build the perfect communication.

Implications and Conclusion

The Nevsun's case has ushered in a modern trend where corporate organizations can be held responsible for acts committed outside their home state. Whereas in the past, such actions were brought in using tort law, the Nevsun case came through the angle of public international law. This angle is likened to the *Alien Tort Statute* action under the US law except that Canada does not have a similar statute. Also, there is no precedent in Canada or in any other state in the world where a corporation has been held liable under civil law for acts committed against CIL.

The implications of the Supreme Court's decision in this case is the fear that due to the undefined nature of CIL- it is born from the usual practice of states and not encoded like treaties- if, it begets its own rule on business practices and human rights adherence, some fear it may put the emerging business and human rights practices into disarray.¹⁵⁵ However, the author of this research believes if there would be any disarray, it will be a positive one. Furthermore, due to the Nevsun case, corporations will give more thoughts and exert more effort in conducting human rights due diligence, making sure to cover all areas of international law including CIL.¹⁵⁶

Lastly, Nevsun case could usher in a legislation on mandatory human rights due diligence for corporations which has been enacted by France and is currently being considered by the EU. However, the ultimate implication of this case is that now claimants can bring actions against corporations for acts committed and falling under CIL.

¹⁵¹ Mirjam Van Reisen, Munyaradzi Mawere, Kinfe Abraha Gebre-Egziabher, Mobile Africa: Human Trafficking and the Digital Divide(Apr.18, 2020, 19:42) at 159

¹⁵² Id. at 161

¹⁵³ Id. at 163

¹⁵⁴ Id. at 164

¹⁵⁵ Atelier Aftab, "The Radical Implications of Nevsun: Corporate Responsibility and Liability under Customary International Law" https://atelieraftab.com/insight/the-radical-implications-of-nevsun-corporate-responsibility-and-liability-under-customary-international-law#_ftn2 accessed 10 May, 2020

¹⁵⁶ Ibid

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ALYSTAĞY BAÝYRYMA IN TRANSLATION (TURKISH, ENGLISH): LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL ASPECTS

RESEARCH ARTICLE

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ABSTRACT: The article first discusses translation peculiarities of culture-specific items in the famous poem *Alystağy baýyryma* (To my brother in distance) of great Kazakh poet Magzhan Zhumabaev in parallel to the Turkish and English languages. Turkish is a related language, and this poem is well-known in Turkey, even has been translated several times by poets (poetic translation) and scholars (prose translation). But it was recently translated into English, that is, in 2018 for the 125th anniversary of the poet's birth by a professor at the University of Michigan, Timur Kocaoglu.

This poem message to the fraternal Turkish people contains several culture-bounded words. And we considered their reflection in translation to the related and non-related languages through comparative analyses, and focused how translators coped with the task of rendering of cultural words. Since this has been and still remains as one of the most discussable and relevant aspects of literary translation. Fortunately, we were given a rare opportunity to speak with the translators, and some moments have been accompanied by comments from the translators themselves.

Key words: poetry, artistic translation, culture, linguistics, realities.

"Uzaktaki Kardeşime" Çeviride (Türkçe, İngilizce): Dilbilimsel Ve Kültürel Yönler

ÖZ: Makalede öncelikle büyük Kazak şairi Magzhan Zhumabaev'in ünlü şiiri *Alystağy baýyryma*'daki (uzaktaki kardeşime) kültüre özgü öğelerin Türkçe ve İngilizceye çevirileri ele alınıyor. Türkçe akraba bir dildir ve bu şiir Türkiye'de çok iyi bilinmektedir, hatta şairler (şiir çevirisi) ve akademisyenler (düzyazı çevirisi) tarafından birkaç kez Türkçeye çevrilmiştir. Ancak yakın zamanda İngilizceye, yani 2018 yılında şairin 125. doğum yıldönümü nedeniyle Michigan Üniversitesi profesörü Timur Kocaoglu tarafından çevrilmiştir. Kardeş Türk halkına yönelik bu şiir kültürel kavramlar içermektedir. Ve karşılaştırmalı analizler yoluyla akraba olan ve olmayan dillere çevirilerindeki yansımalarını değerlendirdik ve çevirmenlerin kültürel kavramları nasıl çevirebildiklerini irdelemeye odaklandık. Bu, edebi çevirinin hala en tartışmalı ve en çok ilgi duyan yönünü oluşturmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: şiir, sanatsal çeviri, kültür, dilbilim, gerçekler.

Introduction

In the life of individual peoples and nations there are people who play an important role, their work reflects the era, the peculiarities of the life of their nation. And if Abdulhamid Cholpan (1897-1938), Abdulla Kadyriy (1894-1940), Zhomart Bokonbaev (1910-1944), Ishangali Arabaev (1882-1933), Abdulla Tokay (1886-1913) and Galymzhan Ibragimov (1887-1938) were great poets and writers of the Uzbek, Kyrgyz and Tatar peoples during the revival of the national life of many Turkic peoples at the beginning of the last century, then such was considered one of the Kazakhs Magzhan Zhumabayev. He is a brilliant Kazakh poet recognized as the son of all Turkic peoples. In 1921, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, uniting scattered groups of rebels, led the struggle for Turkish independence. During this most difficult period for the country, M. Zhumabayev, who sincerely suffered from the disunity of the Turkic peoples, wrote his famous poem "*Alystağy baýyryma*" ("To my brother in distance"). At a conference dedicated to the 100th anniversary of this event, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Turkey to Kazakhstan Nevzat Uyanik said:

On May 19, 1919, the future leader of the Turkish people went to Samsun, where he raised the army for an armed struggle against the Entente. This was the time when the Ottoman Empire was defeated in World War I and had to be divided and disarmed. Mustafa Kemal, defending the independence of Turkey, entered the war and won. The fight for freedom was hard and difficult. In these difficult years a poem-message to the fraternal Turkish people from the great Kazakh poet Magzhan Zhumabaev "*Alystağy baýyryma*" appeared. It was a great message for our

people. Magzhan, through common roots and history, showed the involvement of the Kazakhs in the hard struggle of the Turks for independence» (Turkish Ambassador to Kazakhstan: We do not forget Magzhan's message to the "distant brother", 2019).¹

In 2004, that is exactly 83 years later, the Turk poet Feyzullah Budak, who worked as the vice-rector of the Kazakh-Turkish University, wrote, as it were, a response poem called "*Maǵjanǵa jaýap*" (Reply to Magzhan) (Tursynbayuly, 2018). Having read the texts of these lines, one can feel and understand the living connection between our two fraternal peoples, which Magzhan so subtly felt. In his address to his distant brother, the poet spoke of how he sincerely empathizes with everything that happens to the Turkish people, and that his soul is with them. And while in the Soviet period, when his work was prohibited in his homeland, in Turkey his poems were popular. After Kazakhstan gained independence, the first monument to the Kazakh poet outside the homeland was erected in the Kechiorn district in Ankara.

On March 11, 2020, the Embassy of Kazakhstan in Turkey and the EcoEurasia Association held an event entitled "From Turkestan to Anatolia - Magzhan Zhumabaev" in Ankara (From Turkestan to Anatolia - Magzhan Zhumabaev, 2020).

The Chairman of the EcoEurasia Association Hikmet Eren noted the importance and relevance of thought in the works of M. Zhumabaev. In his speech, he said that the works and thoughts of the great Kazakh poet and one of the leaders of the "Alash" movement will forever leave an indelible mark in the memory of our peoples. Emphasizing Magzhan's thoughts about the unity of the Turkic peoples, he continued his speech with the words of Ziya Gokalp: "The motherland of the Turks is not Turkey or Turkestan, but the great Turan" (From Turkestan to Anatolia - Magzhan Zhumabaev, 2020). The Ambassador of Kazakhstan to Turkey Abzal Saparbekuly stated that Magzhan sincerely empathized with everything that happened to the Turkic people, and spoke about several poems that are especially popular in the modern Turkic world. For example, such works as "To my brother in distance", "Turkestan", "The Earth", "Prophet". Finally, revealing the socio-economic, spiritual and philosophical-psychological characteristics of the work, he noted that with his poems he gathered the Turkic peoples under a single sky (From Turkestan to Anatolia - Magzhan Zhumabaev, 2020).²

The works of the classics of Kazakh literature have been translated into dozens of languages, including Turkish, Uzbek, Russian and Tatar. The translator, Turkish poet Ali Akbas, admitted that in order to translate poetry for this collection, he needed to deeply understand the poet's soul, having studied his work and biography. He also stated that "Magzhan is a poet of freedom and liberty. Magzhan is a man who died for the unity of the Turkic peoples" (Zhumaliyeva, 2018).³

And in 2018, to the 125th anniversary of the birth of the great poet, another significant event happened. A book by Timur Kozhaoglu with translations of the poet's poems in English has been published. It was to be expected. His literary heritage for all mankind in the end had to be translated into one of the global languages, which will open the doors to Magzhan's work almost to the whole world. His thoughts, creativity, struggle for freedom and anti-humanism are universal values. The sensitive soul of the poet was worried for all of humanity, and in those days when he felt helpless in the fight against non-humanity, he turned to his poetry. The poet was thinking about renewing the universe and expanding the intention of humanity with anew. In his poem "Let the Flood Cover the Earth" the poet shows concern for both the West and the East. He asks the question "What would I do if the Flood was enveloped in the Earth, splashing with poisonous foam, and I would be left alone as it does not become alive and not alive" and he himself answers: "I would create a new person, From my sparkling flame". Timur Kocaoglu said that "There is a dramatic voice in Magjan's poetry. He is a brave man who is fully confident in the correctness of the fight against injustice, humiliation, obscurantism and tyranny. In his poetry he listened only to the voice of his heart, and not to the imposed Soviet ideological doctrines. The world community should continue to study the poetry of Maghjan, since his works are not fully considered. I hope that the future generation will conduct an in-depth study of his work" (Dyusekeev, 2018).⁴

He is absolutely right since the literary heritage of the poet has not been studied thoroughly yet. And in this article we would like to consider translation of this very poem "*Alystaǵy baýyryma*" ("To my brother

¹ Translated by authors

² Translated by authors

³ Translated by authors

⁴ Translated by authors

in distance"). Of course, it is impossible to cover all aspects of translation in one article. Therefore, we decided to focus on one of the problematic and relevant aspects of translating poetry. This is a translation of linguocultural vocabulary, or rather realities. There are two reasons for choosing these elements of language. Firstly, the poetry of the poet is rich in culturally bounded vocabulary. Secondly, translation of words of national color is one of the 'tricky' issues of literary translation, which causes multiple discussions and still has no unambiguous solution. As Goethe noted, "When translating, one has to get to the untranslatable. Only then can one really know a foreign people, a foreign language" (Goethe quoted in Vlahov, Florin, 1980, p. 4). So realities are 'untranslatable' and significant at the same time. How to deal with them? The greater the distance in history, culture, and the geographic distance of peoples and the language they use, the larger the barrier becomes. This can be said about Kazakh and English, that have nothing in common, and relate to different language families. But Kazakh and Turkish both relate to Turkic languages family, and have common historical roots which continues to this day. And we conducted a comparative analysis in parallel of these languages (Turkish, English), how the translators coped with this task (translation of realities from Kazakh into Turkish and English) in the case of the poem *Alystaǵy baǵyryma* (*To my brother in distance*). If there were any changes or translation decisions, then what was their impact.

Methodology.

The article uses materials from the book "The poet of flame, liberty and love" (2018) by Timur Kocaoglu, which includes a short biography, translations of the poem in English, and links to the most significant works on poet. T. Kocaoglu is a professor at the University of Michigan, director of the center for "European, Russian and Eurasian Studies". The material for the translation in Turkish was the translation of Ferhat Tamir, who studied the work and fate of the poet a lot, and whose book with translations of the poet's poems was published in 1993 in Ankara. It is worth noting that F. Tamir translated in prose. In communicating with him, he explained that in order to translate Magzhan with poetics, you need to be the same poet, the same level (Personal communication). Therefore, he limited himself to translation in prose. Since the object of our study is not the poetics of translation, this fact did not play a significant role. Unfortunately, we couldn't find poetic translations of Ali Akbas. But we strongly believe that a number of continuing studies will be devoted to this topic. And we could consider both prose and poetic translations. Theoretical issues of the translation of the words of realities are based on the book by S.I. Vlahov and S.P. Florin "Untranslatable in Translation".

Results and discussion.

The childhood picture of brothers by the poet is very warmly and cordially described in this poem. A picture of brothers who went to sleep in the same bed, who sucked milk from the breast of one mother, and played *asyk* (knucklebone) together:

Table 1.

| Original (in Latin script) | Interlinear translation (by authors) |
|--|---|
| Alalı altın <i>saka</i> atıspap pek? Tebisip bir tösekte jatispap pek? Altayday anamızdıñ ak sütinen Birge emip, birge dâmin tatispap pek? (Zhumabayev, 1989, p. 24) | Haven't we played with golden <i>saka</i> ? Haven't we scuffled in the same bed? The white milk of our mother Altay haven't we sucked and tasted together? |

From the very first lines, the translator's attention is drawn to the word *saka*, not only *saka*, but gold. Since this is an uncommon vocabulary, and an element of the national game. Translation into another language requires a special approach. To understand the meaning of the word *saka*, you need to know the game of *asyk* (knucklebone), in which *saka* is used. *Asyk* is one of the most widespread folk games in Central Asia. It is included in the ethnic sports of the World Nomad Games and in the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. In order to play *asyk*, you do not need expensive or complicated equipment and special conditions. The main thing is to arm yourself with the bones of the knee joint of animals, that is called *asyk* in Kazakh (more often - small ruminants: a lamb or a goat), and have a free area where you can place them. The bones were previously boiled in salt water or taken from livestock eaten. After that, simple *asyks* (plural form of *asyk*) were painted in different colors, and, depending on the size and color, they had their own names and different prices, for example, the cheapest - the little "simpleton" never painted, there was also "asyk-saka". The rules

of the game of Asyk are simple. The bones are placed in a row (at stake), the players' task is to knock out one or several of them at once with their *saka* from a certain distance. Those bones that can be knocked out become the prey of the player.

Among the entire set of asyk, a large one called "*saka*" must have been present. Everyone who plays *asyk* has a *saka*. It is a trump card. In the game, "*saka*" plays the role of "khan" - the most important trophy, if the participant is able to win it with the help of his dexterity. Usually, the largest and, accordingly, the heaviest asyk from the collection is chosen for it. Sometimes, for greater stability and penetration force, lead was poured into such a bone and wrapped with copper or aluminum wire. And the khan's and sultan's children were even poured with gold. In the Kazakh folk tale "Altyn saka" ("golden saka") the value of this asyk is well conveyed. For her sake, the boy almost dies at the hands of an evil witch (Ulimbai, 2011, p. 623). That is why the poet used the notion of "golden saka". Childhood memories are always dear and unforgettable for any person. For a young boy who played in the vast land, ran, the golden saka was priceless. Asyk game is as a symbol of childhood.

T. Kocaoglu reflected this realia in English in the following way:

Haven't we have played *golden knucklebone*
 Haven't we scuffled together in the same bed
 Haven't we drank from our mother Altay
 the same white milk and tasted together? (Kocaoglu, 2018, p. 69)

We see that translator uses the concept of generalization rendering *altın saka* as *golden knucklebone*. It means that instead of one element of the game (*saka*), there is a name of the game itself (*asyk* - *knucklebone*). But from the above definition of the game of *asyk* and its elements, one can understand that this is not the same thing. There is also a risk of losing the poet's intentions, to whom he wants to convey one of the valuable attributes of his childhood. Since each young boy treasured his gilded *saka*, which is the largest, most weighty. But there is another side to the coin. When we interviewed the translator, he explained the reason for his decision in translation. As for the multilingual audience, the game of *asyk* (*knucklebone*) is more familiar than its elements. And for them the game itself will be more understandable rather its detailed elements (Personal Communication).

When translating into Turkish, the translator also used the same method of generalization despite the fact that many Turkic peoples played *asyk*:

Alaca **altın aşık** atışmamış mıydık?
 Aynı döşekte tepisip, yatmamış mıydık?
 Altay gibi anamızın ak sütünden birlikte emip,
 onun yaptığı yemeği birlikte yememiş miydik? (Tamer, 1993: 265)

Probably, F. Tamir also intended to make the translation more approachable for the readers, since despite the former popularity of this folk game of the peoples of Central Asia, the detailed elements may have been forgotten. The defining word *altın* (gold) sounds and spelled similarly in Kazakh and Turkish: *алтын* – *altın*. In the following lines, one can highlight the name of the religiously mythical animal *piraq*:

Table 2.

| Original (in Latin script) | Interlinear translation (by authors) |
|---|---|
| Turmap ped bizdin üçin möldir bulak Sıldırıp, sılık sılık tavdan kulap? Dayar bop uçkan kustay, sokkan kuyın, Tilesek, bir-bir <i>tulpar</i> beyne <i>pirak</i> ! (Zhumabayev, 1989: 24). | Was there a clear spring Gurgling falling from the mountains for us? If we wished, as a flying bird and storming wind, There was ready <i>tulpar</i> like Buraq! |

Tulpar is a notion that bears cultural feature. The fastest and the most beautiful horses have been called *tulpar*. According to Kazakh folk, *tulpars* were mainly ridden by heroes. It also carries mythical meaning. There is a saying in Kazakh language as *kanatty tulpar* (winged tulpar) and it is depicted in a state emblem of independent Republic of Kazakhstan. Two mythical horses with wings seem to protect the *shanyrak* (figurative meaning is *the main, respected house*) from both sides. They also vividly express the idea of serving the common home - the Motherland. To cherish the Motherland as the apple of an eye and faithfully serve it is one of the important leitmotifs embedded in the images of mythical horses.

Buraq (arabic البُرَاق, shining, lightning-fast) - in Islam, an extraterrestrial intelligent creature, on which Muhammad made the night migration from Mecca to Jerusalem. There are many legends associated with Buraq, the most famous are: that the Buraqs will take the righteous to heaven; before Miraj, Muhammad was transported by Buraq from Mecca to Jerusalem, and so quickly that water did not have time to pour out of the overturned vessel; before Muhammad, Burak also served other prophets, each of whom tied Buraq to the ring at the Jerusalem rock. This tradition gave the Muslim name for the Western Wall of the Temple Mount - "Buraq Wall" (Borges, Guerrero, 2004, p. 187).⁵

In English, the translator conveys the functional and stylistic feature of this reality, and through transliteration gives the Arabic name for the *pirak* as *Buraq*, but the notion of mythical *tulpar* has been substituted by *stallion*:

Isn't staying for us the pure spring
From mountain with a gurgling sound
It was ready as a flying bird and a wind
If we wish it will appear as a stallion Buraq (Kojaoglu, 2018, p. 69).

According to Cambridge dictionary, "stallion is an adult male horse that is used for breeding" (Cambridge dictionary online, n.d.). Some features of stallion as speed, physique may have some in common with *tulpar*, but it is not enough to compensate cultural and mythical context. The following notion of *Buraq* has been explained by the translator in the form of an endnote: «Buraq: is a steed in Islamic mythology, a creature from the heavens that transported the prophets. Most notably Buraq carried the Islamic prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Jerusalem and back during the Mi'raj (Night Journey to Heaven)» (Kocaoglu, 2018, p. 69).

In Turkish, the translator also makes a footnote, but not for the proper name Buraq. Translator explains the word *tulpar*, which is an expressive noun in Kazakh language used to name the fastest and special horses:

Tertemiz pınar, bizim için dağlan aşıya dökülüp şırıl şırıldayıp dyrmamış mıydı?
İstesek... Tıpkı *Buraq*'a benzeyen, uçan kuş ve esen fırtına gibi sür'atli birer *tulpar*⁶ hazır olup...

Buraq is a well-known notion and proper name in Turkish, rather than Kazakh *tulpar*. Probably, that served as the reason for such kind of decision.

Conclusion

From the above analysis, we can conclude that even if the languages relate to the same language families and have much in common from history, there exist some peculiarities (in the case of *tulpar* in Turkish translation). And translator used method of additional explanation outside the text. In English translator also employed the same technique. But nevertheless, there is a still controversial issue that needs to be considered additionally (in the case of *tulpar* translated as a *stallion*). In the term of rendering of reality *saka*, both translators resorted to generalization for the sake of more relevant target text perception by readers. So, there is an undeniable truth that, in order to translate cultural vocabulary, the translator needs background knowledge. Or, as the famous French linguist and translation theorist J. Mounin stated that "To translate from a foreign language, two prerequisites are tender, of which each is necessary, and one is not enough: to learn this foreign language and study (systematically) the ethnography of the collective using this language. There can be no complete translation if both conditions are not met" (Mounin quoted in Vlahov, Florin, 1980: 382). At the same time, we have been once again convinced that the untranslatable reality remains less and less, due to the fact that the process of active international integration, globalization, and intensive exchange of cultural and educational information, people and cultures are becoming closer. People learn more about literature, culture, history of other nations (in the case of translation of cultural notion *saka*). The assertion that the culture of one people is specific and impenetrable for another people, that each of them has its own customs, associations, its own psychology, its own attitude to reality, and it is irrepressibly more and more contested. And these examples prove that it is possible to reflect culture in translation by using relevant techniques. Linguistic

⁵ Translated by authors

⁶ tulpar: Çok hızlı koşan efsanevi at (The legendary horse that runs very fast) (Tamir, 1993, p. 265).

research reveals the presence in languages of numerous universals, reflecting the common environment, perception of the surrounding world and mental organization among all the inhabitants of our planet. In the modern world, there is a further rapprochement of cultures, reflected in a certain convergence of languages. All this undoubtedly makes it easier to overcome the differences in common pictures of the world in the process of translation. Differences between the cultures of linguistic communities do not seem to be an insurmountable obstacle to translation. Of course, knowledge of the reality behind the original text is necessary for its understanding and translation. But the facts of a foreign culture are not something incomprehensible, inaccessible for description and study. Using ethnographic data, a translator can successfully cope with the task of reproducing or explaining in translation the features of the culture reflected in the meanings of the words in the original.

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AHDI`S GÜLŞEN-Î ŞUARÂ: An Unusual Example of Biographical Dictionary of Poets

RESEARCH ARTICLE

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ABSTRACT: Şair Tezkires are an important source of information. For history-writing and literature, biographies have played an important role. Important for XVI Century Ahdi's Gülşen-i Şuara written in 1564 is the fourth Şair Tezkire example in Ottoman Turkish. Among many Şair Tezkires in Ottoman literature, Ahdi's work is different than others. This work is an important source of information for poets around Baghdad. The Biographical Dictionary of Poets provided in Gülşen-i Şuara is hard to find anywhere else. Another important point which makes Gülşen-i Şuaraa worthy text is Ahdi himself. Being from Baghdad he showcases an Arabic perspective inside his text in Ottoman Turkish. A very strong argument comes out of reading Ahdi, is an outsider perspective of the Ottoman. Ahdi comes out of the text as a devoted personality. He makes sure to mention all the religious information inside the text. While no classification is given inside the text but a non-stated classification comes out as the text continues. Ahdi before moving to poets, tries to introduce poets in different classes of the Ottoman empire.

Keywords: Ahdi, XVI-Century, Tezkire, Biography, Ottoman Literature

Ahdi'nin Gülşen-î Şuarâ'sı Şair Tezkirelerinde Sıradışı Bir Örneği

ÖZ: Şair Tezkireleri önemli bir bilgi kaynağıdır. Tarih yazımı ve edebiyat için biyografiler önemli bir rol oynar. XVI. Yüzyıl için önemli olan Ahdi'nin Gülşen-i Şuara'sı 1564 yılında Osmanlı Türkçesiyle yazılmış dördüncü Şair Tezkire örneğidir. Osmanlı edebiyatındaki birçok Şair Tezkiresi arasında Ahdi'nin eseri diğerlerinden farklıdır. Bu eser, Bağdat çevresindeki şairler için önemli bir bilgi kaynağıdır. Gülşen-i Şuara'da verilen Biyografik Şair Sözlüğü'nü başka bir yerde bulmak zordur. Gülşen-i Şuara'yı metne layık kılan bir diğer önemli nokta da Ahdi'nin kendisidir. Bağdatlı biri olarak Osmanlı Türkçesi metinlerinde Arap bir bakış açısı sergilemektedir Ahdi'yi okurken oldukça çok yoğun fikirlerle donatılıyor. Ahdi, Osmanlı'ya dışarıdan bir bakıştır. Ahdi, metinlerinde adanmış bir şahsiyet olarak karşımıza çıkar. Metnin içindeki tüm dini bilgilere mutlaka değinir. Metin içinde sınıflandırma yapılmazken metin devam ettikçe belirtilmeyen bir sınıflandırma ortaya çıkar. Ahdi, mesleki şairlere sınıfına geçmeden önce Osmanlı imparatorluğunun farklı sınıflarındaki şairleri tanıtmaya çalışır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ahdi, XVI yüzyıl, Tezkire, Biyografi, Osmanlı, Edebiyat

Introduction

Şair Tezkireleri (Biographical Dictionary of Poets)

Derived from the Arabic word zikr (ذکر)¹, which means remembering, to remember, or to mention someone or something Tezkire, in the most general context, is what is meant to be remembered. Tezkire or Biography, in the simplest framework, is the purpose of telling a person's life, what they did and how they lived. It is a work that tells about the biographies of people who grew up in a certain profession and made a name in that profession and, if appropriate, are known in that field. Although there are various types of Tezkires, maybe in the first of hearing the word Tezkire, what comes to mind are Şair Tezkires or Biographical Dictionary of Poets. Şair Tezkires or Biographical Dictionary of Poets from here on have become books or texts talking about certain and well-known poets in the profession, their lives and the works they have done. The majority of the people whose biographies are described are usually Poets, Evliya or Calligraphers.

¹ Türkçe Sözlük, 2011, p. 2659

Tezkiretü-“Ş-şu”arâ (Biographical Dictionary of Poets), in the texts organized according to the alphabetical order system according to names or nicknames (lakab), the biographies of the people are briefly mentioned, while giving information about the positions they gained while performing their official duties, and also examples of their poems are included. It is seen that these examples of poetry generally consist of ghazal and kaside, kıta and short pieces selected from rubais and mesnevis. The source of the studies leading to Şair Tezkires or Biographical Dictionary of Poets is coming from Arabs before Islam. The anthology tradition that started with the narrators who compiled poetry in the Pre-Islamic period, continued to the collection of hadith after Islam and then not only to collect but to identify the source of hadiths and reliability of the compilers made it into a part of literature and history. These works, in Arabs, are called Tabakat and was developed among the other Muslim nations, Persians, and Turks, where it took the name of Tezkire. Famous Persian poet and Sufi of the XII. century Feridüddin Attar's Tezkiretü "I-evliyâ was a work in which he tells about Evliyas in the Islamic geography. As a result of his work being loved and admired, the word "Tezkire" started to be used more commonly among Persians which later crossed to borders to Turks as well.² The first example of Şair Tezkire or Poet Biography in Persian literature is Muhammed El-Avfî's Lübâbü "I-elbâb, written in the 13th-century.³

The Şair Tezkire or Poet Biography started to be written in Anatolia since the 16th century. But coming from the Turkic origin the 15th-century poet and political figure Ali Şîr Nevâî's Mecâlisü'n-Nefâis is considered as the first ever example of Şair Tezkireleri or Biographical Dictionary of Poets for Turkish literature. Mecâlisü'n-Nefâis is very precious for both Persian literature and Turkish literature. The information given about forty-three Turkish poets makes the work very precious. It is not possible to find the information from any other source from that period.

Mecâlisü'n-Nefâyis is also considered to be the model for Tezkires written in the Ottoman as many of them have mentioned this work in their writings. Although the tradition of Tezkire writing started in Arab literature the Ottomans took the Persian side as a model. Especially the Herat (هرات) artists examples were among the models. Other than Ali Şîr Nevâî's Mecâlisü'n-Nefâis, Molla Jami's Baharistân'ı and Devletshah's Tezkiretüş-Şu'arâ's are among the examples for Ottomans. The art of writing biography is generally considered a branch of historiography. But later on, it begins to be distinguished from each other. History tells about who lived before today and events that took place came from, events and incidents. As well, the life stories of those who were influential in those events are also important. That is why most of the historians have given great importance to biography in history writing.

Ottoman Literature in the Sixteenth Century

Classic Turkish literature that developed in Anatolia in the 13th and 14th centuries is the source for the literature that was going to come out in later centuries in Ottoman. Until the middle of the 15th-century translations and on the other hand Mesnevis, which deals with various subjects in every field of the Islamic civilization and culture, has been the two most important focus two points for the Ottoman literature. After various transformations and various works both in terms of content and form literary language was established until the sixteenth century. This period considered as Altın Çağ (Golden Age) for Ottoman literature (Eski Türk Edebiyatı). Not only for literature but 16th century is named as the peak period of all the Ottoman in all aspects. Parallel with the internal and external political achievements of the empire, many literary works have been written as well, Writer and poets who maintained their influence for centuries give the samples of their precious works in this era.

This period is also the golden age for Hâmilik (Patronage). Although more translation works from Persian and Arabic to Ottoman Turkish were given importance in the previous periods, With the emergence of a Classical Turkish Literature or Palace Literature (Saray Edebiyatı) in the 16th century, poets themselves started giving special efforts by writing poems for the palace so they could be accepted by the palace. Especially in an effort to be close to the sultan. These poems are mostly in the form of kaside and ghazals. The Hâmilik (Patronage) started with Sultan II. Murad and was established as a must point for empire with Sultan II. Mehmet. Halil İnalçık defines this system by stating that Sultan as the kind and protector of land was also considered to be the protector of art and knowledge as well, in order to fulfil this title, he had to protect the artists and poets living under his power and reign. Artists under the dominance of the Sultan started to give texts according to the taste of the Sultan.⁴ The frontiers of Ottoman Turkish literature poetry names like Zâtî, Bâkî, Hayâlî, Fuzûlî are poets of this period. At the same

² Isen, 1989:22.

³ Yıldırım, 2012: 5-6.

⁴ İnalçık,2011:13.

time with these poets Sultans with poetry knowledge and talent in this era as Sultan II. Bayezid known as (Adlî), Kanuni Sultan Süleyman known as (Muhibbî), Yavuz Sultan Selim known as (Selîmî), and Sultan III. Murad known as (Murâdî) are Poet sultans of the sixteenth century. Sixteenth-century is also important in the sense that or Biographical Dictionary of Poets that are a reliable source for getting information about poets of a period started in this century.

Şair Tezkireleri or Biographical Dictionary of Poets in Ottoman Empire

The first Şair Tezkire or Poet Biography written in Ottoman Turkish was believed to be written by Sehi Bey. Heşt Behişt (Eight Heaven) was published in 1538 and presented to I. Sultan Süleyman. The text consists of eight chapters and that is how it took its name. Heşt Behişt (Eight Heaven) is very similar to Nevayî's Mecâlisü'n-nefâis in according to organization of texts. This work was considered as the first example of Şair Tezkireleri or Biographical Dictionary of Poets written in Ottoman Turkish until 2007. In 2007 with an article titled as "16. Asırda Osmanlı Sahası Şâirleri Hakkında Yazılmış "Tezkire-i Mecâlis-i Şu'arâ-yı Rûm" Adlı Tanınmayan Bir Tezkire" Written about the Ottoman Field Poets in the 16th Century "Tezkire-i Mecâlis-i Şu'arâ-yı Rûm An unrecognized Tezkire" Israfil Babacan brought this new information regarding the first Şair Tezkire in Ottoman Turkish. Inside his article he introduced Garibi who is believed to be the author of the unrecognized Şair Tezkire named as Tezkire-i Mecâlis-i Şu'arâ-yı Rûm. With various arguments. Babacan came up with 1538 the date for this Şair Tezkire. In that sense Garibi's Tezkire-i Mecâlis-i Şu'arâ-yı Rûm becomes the first Ottoman Turkish Şair Tezkire.⁵

Without any further information provided about Garibi himself or the era the text concludes of fifty-four poets only. Furthermore, the text is written in simple and plain Ottoman Turkish. With this new information coming out Heşt Behişt (Eight Heaven) by Sehi Bey becomes the second Şair Tezkire written in Ottoman Turkish. Latifi's Tezkiretü'ş-Şu'arâ ve Tabsiratü'n-Nuzamâ with 334 poets inside written in 1546 is the third example of Şair Tezkires in Ottoman field. Following this is Ahdi's Gülşen-i Şuara in 1564 is the fourth Şair Tezkire example in Ottoman Turkish⁶. This work is an important source of information for poets around Baghdad. The Biographical Dictionary of Poets provided in Gülşen-i Şuara is hard to find anywhere else. Another important point which makes Gülşen-i Şuara a worthy text is Ahdi himself. Being from Baghdad he showcases an Arabic perspective inside his text in Ottoman Turkish. A very strong argument comes out of reading Ahdi, is an outsider perspective of Ottoman, secondly a single person walking all the way from Baghdad to Anatolia, with no helping hand behind and without any expectations. How possible is that? His way of describing poets according to their ethnicity is the highlight of this text.

Ahdi Baghdadi عهدى بغدادى

Ahdi or Bağdatlı Ahdi is a 16th century poet. He is better known for his Tezkire (Biography) Gülşen-i Şuara. Being a poet he has a Divançe (Mini-Divan) as well. He was brought to light by Hasibe Mazioğlu on his poetry and poetic personality⁷ and then with an article by Ömer Faruk Akün in Islam Encyclopedia. A major work done on him is by Süleyman Solmaz.⁸

Very less is known about Ahdi himself. Things known about his life comes out of his Gülşen-i Şuara and that is why almost nothing is known about his life in Baghdad, before coming to Anatolia. He describes his story of coming to Anatolia (Diyar-i Rum) in his first chapter (Sebeb-i Telif). Ahdi and his fellow poet and friend Khusrew started their journey from Baghdad to Anatolia in 1552. Within a time, their paths parts away and he continues the journey alone from there. He does not mention people or things he saw and met on his way but briefly describes that he learned important lessons in this journey. Before coming to Istanbul and starting his text he meets Piri Paşa in Adana, as he describes Piri Paşa and praises him inside the text.⁹

On the other hand, Istanbul plays a very important role in the text. The city itself creates a huge influence on Ahdi, as he is amazed with the number of poets and intellectuals in the city in that era. In his introduction he illustrates how his time in Istanbul was spent. Writers, poets, political and historical figures and all that he met in Istanbul plays a major role in his writing. But still he runs away from naming these

⁵ Bababcan,2007:6.

⁶ Solmaz. Ankara, 1996.

⁷ Mazioğlu. Ankara, 1981

⁸ Solmaz, Ankara, 1996.

⁹ Solmaz,1996:XV

people he met and the time duration he spent. He mentions that he learned Anatolian Turkish during this time. With his poems in Anatolian Turkish inside the text, it is easy to say that he stayed for a long time in Istanbul so he was able to learn the language with a great standard to be able to even write poems. On the other hand, looking at his Arabic and Persian poems, it can be said that he had an immense talent in linguistic. Being able to write in all three languages. It is also clear from the text that he spent some time in Edirne as well. He very occasionally mentions locations and names and among them he talks about Mecdi Efendi. An interesting thing from this part is Ahdi's approach to people he got helping hand from. He describes them way larger and more widely.

تا آمدم چو باد به بیستان ادرنه
گل گل شگفت دل ز گلستان ادرنه
تا دامن وصال تو آرد بکف شده
عهدی ز خیل خاک نیشنان ادرنه

He dedicates his work to Sultan Selim, while he was placed in Kütahya. He mentions that word is the only thing that reaches any level and any class so that is why he dedicates his poems to the Sultan.

Cem idüp erbâb-ı itdüm ol sultâna arz
Âdet olmışdur sunar bende devrâna arz
Hâk-i pâyinden biter maksûdı erbâb-ı dilün
N'ola sunsa hâk-i pâye Ahdi-i ferzâne arz

There are three copies of Gülşen-i Şuara found. All three copies include some differences concerning organization and internal information. This could let us to an idea that after his return to Baghdad, Ahdi might have worked again on his text and made some changes and might have expanded as well.

Ahdi's Religious Beliefs Inside Gülşen-i Şuara

Ahdi comes out of the text as a devoted personality. He makes sure to mention all the religious information inside the text. For every person mentioned inside the text, Ahdi praises them with keeping the religious side in mind. For Ahdi a person is worth looking up to if he or she is religious. He praises the poets based on how they perform their religious duties. He glorifies the poet if the person has translated any religious text or describes any religious textbook. Rarely inside the text, there is a person mentioned with no religious glorifying or any religious information is given. Sufi sects are not mentioned widely inside the text. Mevleviye is the only sect written and mentioned inside the text. There is no evidence inside the text of any relation of Ahdi himself to any sect. But he praises people with a connection to Mevleviye.

Ahdi might come out as a nationalist person from the text. His portray of poets from the Arab side gives way to such an impression. But while he praises 150 Arab poets, on the other hand there are many Turkish poets as well. His ideology can be named as regionalism more than nationalism. He is more soft to people from the Arab side. Poets from Baghdad are given an extra important place inside the text. This regionalism can be attached to the emotional side of human being as well. Ahdi finds himself closer to people from his own region, and introduces them more clearly and widely.

Gülşen-i Şuara

Written in Sixteenth-century, Ahdi's Tezkire-i Erbâb-ı Sefâ or better known as Gülşen-i Şuara is made up of one introduction, four chapters, and one conclusion. He gives information about 149 ethnically Arab poets, not mentioned in any other Biographical Dictionary of Poets. A reason that these 149 poets, have not been mentioned in any other Biographical Dictionary of Poets is because all of them are from Eastern parts. (Arab Regions). With 149 newly introduced there are 232 other poets as well so exactly 381 poets have been introduced inside the text. The number of poets are different according to the copy. As mentioned before Ahdi after his return to Baghdad from Anatolia, made some changes and added some parts to his text. He uses all the three Ottoman languages (Arabic, Persian, Turkish) very well during his writing. But at the same time it is not easy to generally comment and analyse his use of language. Ahdi uses Heteroglossia¹⁰ a lot inside his text. In the two parts introduction and conclusion

¹⁰ The presence of two or more expressed viewpoints in a text or other artistic work.

he shows a more artistic use of language, he uses more complex sentences decorated with Arabic and Persian phrases.

His way of writing is differentiating from poet to poet. There is a diversity of language and narration according to the social and political statue of the poet. His way of narration brings out some aspects of his character as well. He acts very soft and as a court man throughout the text. His conservative behaviour can be seen in his optimism towards poets. He is not critical at all. He praises every single poet. Furthermore, there is no standard for the text. It is very tough to understand how and why he has placed these poets, according to what norm and criteria's. Some people with very little poetry are also mentioned and praised. Ahdi is more interested in the personality of these poets than their works and poetry, that is why inside the text it is very rare to see any name of the works these poets have done. On the other hand, when it comes to mention the poets from his region, he is very out-spoken and open to them. A large part of his text is given to these poets from Baghdad. As a reader we can divide his poets into two groups, first the poets he met and second the poets he heard of.

Places and Locations in Gülşen-i Şuara

Place or location holds an important part in Gülşen-i Şuara. Like any other Biographical Dictionary of Poets, it is not only about the birth place of the poet or the place to live in or used to live. Location can be seen as a main part of the text. Ahdi emphasizes on location way more than poetry. It can also be seen as a result of his reaction and amazement he faced after visiting Istanbul. But this importance of place is not only limited to Istanbul, other cities and places are also a large part of the text. Ahdi moves ahead of poets and starts to describe the place itself inside his texts.

He uses all kinds of sentences to give an inside to the geographical information. Among all these he puts Istanbul in the front row and, that means Istanbul holds the longest place inside the text with Baghdad respectively. He emphasizes on places he has been to more. Underlying such places like Edirne, Bursa, and Baghdad.

Sultans, Vezirs and Elites in Gülşen-i Şuara

The order in Ahdi's work is not very hard to understand his aim. He starts with Sultans. An important point is that he names everyone here as Sultan. Princes are also mentioned as Sultan. Starting in line with Sultan Suleyman, Sultan Selim, and Sultan Murad, he praises and praises them. His use of literary language to praise and define sultans is very high but in contrast with the Biographical Dictionary of Poets. He praises the three Sultans respectively without providing any other information needed. For the three Sultans mentioned above, there is lots of praise and a single poem example by them. He talks about the magnificent control they have over language and their poetry, praising them on their just and Sultanic gestures but no more until it comes to Sultan Mustafa. He starts to give some more information which is a primary need for a biography with Sultan Mustafa and mentions that his tomb is placed in Bursa¹¹. He increases his level of information with every passing Sultan in a row. Without giving dates he praises Sultan Muhammed and says that he lived short. While talking about Sultan Beyazid, he mentions that he trusted some not worth trust and deceitful people, did not listen to his father and started animosity with his brother, which is also addressed in *Tavarih-i Al-i Osman*¹² With Sultan Cihangir he gives a date for the first time in this chapter. He provides the city and date where he was killed, and the place he was buried in Istanbul. The order moves to Vezirs with Şemsi Ahmed Paşa, and Ahdi writes that his nickname in poetry is Şemsi, and he was a grand seignior in Sultan's (Sultan Suleiman) time. He praises Şemsi Ahmed Paşa's personality and his command over language and poetry with stating that he is a descending of Khalid bin Walid¹³. He mentions that he spent all his life learning and working on poetry with he talks about Cenabi Paşa. While there is mostly one paragraph for each Sultan and Vezirs mentioned, when it comes to Piri Paşa, Ahdi has been very generous. He has been given more space inside the text. From his educational background to his way coming to the palace. He mentions that he met Temerrüüd Ali Paşa, and spent time with him as he came from Baghdad to Sivas. He narrates that he has seen him praying five times a day and never missing any of his religious duties. He praises Temerrüüd Ali Paşa's poetry and his command over the Persian language. He also mentions that he was very knowledgeable about *Tavarih-i Salatin* and *Shah-name*. An inside helps to understand that he must have spent quite a long time in Sivas. Ahdi's writing style changes as it comes to Nişani Beg. He talks about Nişani Beg with the classic biography writing style. Starting with his names, his

¹¹ Solmaz, 1996:236

¹² Solmaz, 1996: 237

¹³ 592?-642 AD

family background, his education and his command over poetry. Ahdi shifts further and writes down a poem as a reply to Nişani Beg's poem. Ahdi continues with Ebu'l-Fazl Efendi, with his biography writing style. He gives more detail about Ebu'l-Fazl Efendi than any other name mentioned before. He let us know about his Sufi background, and his being a janitor for Mevlana Idris Efendi. For the very first time in this part, he mentions works done by a poet. While talking about Ebu'l-Fazl Efendi he writes down that with support and encouragement of Sultan Beyazid, he wrote a long and detailed history of The Ottoman and The Iran Sultans. Ahdi satisfies with a short poetry example for all the biographies, whereas for Celal Efendi he moves further and provides many poetry examples by him. Very often he names the occupation, *deftardar* (Economical Officer) is among the few occupations mentioned in this line.

The Class of Scholars and Intellectuals in Gülşen-i Şuara

After Sultans and vezirs he moves to the second class of poets inside his text. Ahdi here names scholars and intellectuals who spent their life with various science and subjects. His way of presenting scholars is different than what he tried to do in the first row. Here while talking about scholars and intellectuals he is freer to express. Furthermore, pieces of information in this section are wider as well. He starts this section with Ibn Kemâl Ahmed Efendi and praises him for his knowledge of Persian and although he skips from naming any of the texts or works produced by him but reminds the reader that it is not possible to name work of someone who has spent all his life in writing. He continues with another important name Hacı Çelebi and better known as Ebu's-su'ud Efendi. He names him as the Imam Ebu Hanife of his time. Regarding Ebu's-su'ud Efendi he writes that with a variety of talents he had in his hand he barely found time to write some poems as well. While talking about Perviz Efendi he points that he wrote mostly on love in Persian and Turkish and he granted his education from Kemal Paşazade Efendi. Ahdi talks about Muhammed Çelebi more briefly from his birthplace Istanbul to his Sufi sect Mevleviye. Famous as Abdülkerimzade, Muhammed Çelebi was a big name in poetry and linguistic commands. Ahdi continues his way of giving more specific information with Muhammed Efendi also known as Kara Çelebi. Ahdi mentions that he was from Karaman and he got his education there as well and by time became among the top scholars of Karaman as well. Furthermore, he talks about his poetry style and points out that his poems were mostly romantic. Separation, loneliness, and pain were his most used topics in poetry. He used the title Bahri in his poetry. Mealy or Mehmed Çelebi is another scholar who has been introduced widely inside the text. Ahdi narrates Mayli's family background, his work experience, and his thoughts generally. A point that comes across here with Meyli is that he was placed in Sham and Aleppo. His connection to the Arab world makes Ahdi more curious about him. He explains Kami Efendi as the translator of Imam Gazali's *Kimya-yi Saadet* to Turkish and not much more for him.

Masters and Teachers in Gülşen-i Şuara

While there is no classification in Gülşen-i Şuara, but without naming it Ahdi gives us such classifications inside his text. While talking about scholars and intellectuals he starts to name and introduce people with an educational background. Better known as müderres. Hayali Efendi, Vusuli Efendi, Surui Efendi, Rizayi Efendi, Pir Mehmed Efendi Abdulgani Efendi, and Fevri Efendi are among the names inside the text who have been masters or teachers in their time. Ahdi has mentioned them all as part of Zümre-i Müderissin (Class of Teachers). He does not classify among the teachers in any way. Although he gives pieces of information as a teacher from Istanbul, a teacher from Bursa there is a correct order for them. The line moves in different ranges inside the text.

Among this class, a very long section has been given to Rizayi Efendi. Also known as Kassabzade from Edirne, Ahdi spent quite a time with him. Ahdi explains his life and provides lots of insides from his life. These pieces of information are mostly based on Ahdi's observations of Rizayi Efendi during the time they spent together. Ahdi describes his behavior and character of what he has seen.

The Class of Poets by Occupation in Gülşen-i Şuara

A prime characteristic of the text comes out in this section. Ahdi being a poet himself, gives a long of poets from different regions. Some of the poets mentioned in Gülşen-i Şuara are not seen in any other text. Another important fact here is that Ahdi has classified all poets according to the alphabetical order. In this section, a clear image of the biography can be seen. Poets have been introduced properly. Among all the poets mentioned here, many are from outside Anatolia. Poets from Baghdad have been given more places. Insides such as Fuzuli Baghdadi's death on a pandemic is a piece of worthy information. Fuzuli Baghdadi has been given special treatment inside the text. Ahdi names him as the second Nevai

of Turkish-Persian poetry. While naming him he shows great respect. Ahdi also gives importance to the dominant system. He mentions which poet was supported by which Sultan. While talking about Feyzi he mentions that it was Sultan Selim who appreciated and supported him financially and recognized his ability of poetry. Furthermore, he gives details of the family backgrounds of poets. Writing on Germi Beg, he mentions that although he is originally from Baghdad and lives there as well his family lineage goes back to Karakoyunlular and talking on Basiri he mentions that he used to live in Anatolia although he was a Persian. Ahdi not only satisfies with backgrounds but he moves forward and explains the poet's character and behaviors. He writes on Ateshi(Fire), that he named himself Ateshi because he was an angry person. His poetry is full of love poems and his character can be seen inside his poems.

Conclusion

Gülşen-i Şuara is different in many ways. Firstly, Ahdi's personality wise which comes out of the text makes it important. He emphasizes on religious texts and beliefs inside the text a lot. He praises a personality on the bases of their religious practices. His extreme sense of respect for Ottoman Sultans lets him to name every member of the palace as Sultan. That lets to a long section of biographies before starting the actual part of the text itself. The first part where he describes the poet personalities inside the palace ends up as an act of respect for the Sultan. Ahdi enters the biographies on poets with the alphabetical classification. He strongly follows the biography writing rules. From alphabetical order to poetry examples. Some questions remain unknown. Although he shows a tendency to Mevleviye as a sect. But in no way he accepts being a Mevleviye follower. Ahdi follows a regionalism point of view throughout his text. He is softer toward people from the Arab regions. Especially poets from Baghdad are given extra importance. Ahdi writes the biography of poets I three different ways. Poets he met, poets he heard of and poets he had a conversation through letters. The difference can be seen very clearly. Gülşen-i Şuara is a strange example of the Biographical Dictionary of Poets in Ottoman reign.

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